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The Library of the Reverend James Nairn (1629-1678):
Scholarly Book Collecting in Restoration Scotland

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Doctor of Philosophy
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1987



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis could not have been written without the help of many people. My supervisor, Dr Jonquil Bevan, has been supportive and encouraging from the outset, making many valuable suggestions throughout the period of study. I should also like to acknowledge the support given to me by Miss Brenda Moon, Librarian of Edinburgh University, and the Library Committee of Edinburgh University in giving me three months paid study leave to pursue my research. Being allowed to take this time off in small portions certainly helped to keep my official full-time duties in Edinburgh University Library under control, but it also meant that I could use the study-leave to best advantage; that I was given leave at all at a time of savage retrenchment in university staffing demonstrates an encouragement for private research, albeit library-related, for which I am deeply grateful.

Several friends have contributed greatly. Dr Iain Brown of the National Library of Scotland has been enthusiastic throughout, and has also provided help far beyond his official duties. The same is true of Dr Brian Hillyard, also of the National Library of Scotland. Valuable aid has also been given by Dr Tristram Clarke, Dr James Brown, Miss Sheila Edward (of the Bodleian Library), Mr Geoffrey Hargreaves (of St Andrews University Library), Dr Dorothy Johnston (formerly of Aberdeen University Library), Mr William Kelly, Dr Michael Lynch, Mrs K. Moir, Mr R. Smart (of St Andrews University Library), and Mr Gordon Willis (of Stirling University Library). My colleagues in Edinburgh University Library have

always been helpful: in particular, I should like to thank Miss Joyce M. Barrie for undertaking last-minute proof correction; the assistance of Miss Marjorie Robertson (Mrs Duvall), Mr J.V. Howard and Mrs Sally Wood is also acknowledged. I have to thank the Hon. Mrs Alice Cunnack, the Lady Victoria Wemyss and the late Captain Michael Wemyss of Wemyss for a memorable day at Wemyss Castle.

My parents have also given assistance and encouragement over the years, and I must also acknowledge the help and support given to me by my wife Elizabeth (Dr Elizabeth Cumming): I hope that my research pursuits helped her in her own thesis work as much as her research activities stimulated me to persevere with mine.

This thesis was composed on an Amstrad PCW 8512.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and is my own work.

Murray C.T. Simpson.

EXPLANATORY NOTES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Spelling and punctuation in quotations are given as in the sources, whether printed or manuscript. Dates are also as given in the sources, without noting whether new style (used on the continent) or old style (ten days behind, used in England and Scotland). Currency is always to be assumed as Scots currency, unless otherwise stated. Scottish money is calculated here to be worth one twelfth of sterling, although it fluctuated over the decades. A merk was worth two-thirds of one pound; for ease of calculation, the equivalent in Scottish pounds is usually given.

Numbers in bold in the text and in footnotes refer to catalogue entries in Appendix I.

Spelling of names of authors represented in Nairn's library is consistent within the text, and within the catalogue, but may occasionally differ between text and catalogue.

Although referred to throughout as Edinburgh University, this institution during Nairn's lifetime was known as the Tounis [Town's] College.

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes and catalogue.

BL	British Library
BM	British Museum, <i>General Catalogue of Printed Books</i> , photolithographic edition to 1955, 263 volumes (London, 1965).
BN	<i>Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Auteurs</i> , 231 volumes (Paris, 1897-1981).
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
EULPC	<i>Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of Edinburgh University</i> , 3 volumes (Edinburgh, 1918-23).
fol.	folio (fols in plural)
MS	manuscript (MSS in plural)
NLS	National Library of Scotland

- NUC *National Union Catalog: pre-1956 Imprints, 754 volumes (London, 1968-1981).*
 SRO Scottish Record Office
 STC *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland ... First compiled by A.W. Pollard & G.R. Redgrave, second edition, revised and enlarged, volumes 1-2 (London, 1986, 1976).*
 tom. tomus, tomi or tome
 vol. volume (vols in plural)
 Wing *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland, Wales ..., 1641-1700, compiled by Donald Wing, 3 volumes (New York, 1972, 1982, 1951). Volumes one and two are of the second edition.*

Within the footnote section forenames of authors, editors, etc., are abbreviated to initials. Forenames are given in the bibliography when easily ascertained.

Further abbreviations used solely in the catalogue entries are explained in the introduction to that catalogue.

Throughout this thesis, the phrase 'the 1678 catalogue' or 'the printed catalogue' refers to *Catalogus Librorum Quibus Bibliothecam Academiae Jacobi Regis Edinburgensae Adauxit R. D. Jacobus Narnius, Pastor Vaemiensis* (Edinburgh, 1678), and the phrase 'the Latin life', refers to the life of Nairn, in Latin, which prefaces that catalogue.

PART ONE

Chapter 1. Introduction: Scope, Sources, Theory and Method

This thesis presents a study of the library of the Reverend James Nairn (1629-1678), bequeathed by him to Edinburgh University Library.¹ There are several interrelated reasons for undertaking this work. The most straightforward is simply a desire to analyse and describe the library's contents as a contribution to library history. The size, interest and range of material in the collection warrant extended and detailed study, for Nairn's is the largest private library formed by a cleric in Restoration Scotland to have been preserved largely intact, and for which accurate and detailed records remain. It numbered over nineteen hundred items in some eighteen hundred and forty volumes.

This cannot be regarded as an exceptionally large library in seventeenth-century English terms: exceptional English examples were the library of Richard Smith (1590-1675), whose 20,000 volumes were sold in 1682, the library of Richard Holdsworth (1590-1649), Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, which numbered 10,000 volumes, and that of John Selden the jurist (1584-1654), at 8,000. However, I have found no records to show that any Scottish clerical library in the seventeenth century definitely exceeded Nairn's, and in fact there seems to be only one library formed by any professional man at this time which certainly surpassed it. This was the library of the doctor Sir Andrew Balfour (1630-1694), whose printed books were sold in 3422 lots in 1695, with thirty-one additional lots of

manuscripts. Books belonging to Balfour were also sold in 1699. Even here, the collection may not have exceeded Nairn's by the time of the clergyman's death.

Sir Andrew Balfour's friend and colleague, Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722), was probably also amassing a library as large, if not larger than Nairn's by the year of Nairn's death; it certainly far outstripped it in subsequent decades, judging from the two sale catalogues of 1707 and 1723. However, with these exceptions, Nairn's library stands numerically supreme amongst those libraries being built up in the Restoration period in Scotland by a member of any profession. In fact, I have not traced any concrete evidence to show that any landed library formed within Scotland before 1680 matched it in size either. The importance of Nairn's collection in a Scottish context is demonstrated when it is realised that its acquisition by Edinburgh University Library must have augmented that library, one hundred years after its foundation, by just under one-third.² Incidentally, Edinburgh University Library was not to receive a bigger donation of printed books until the late nineteenth century.

An analysis of the library, subject by subject, constitutes a large part of this thesis (chapters four to seven), and a short-title catalogue of the collection is appended (Appendix I). The collection, despite its importance, is very little known, and the few references to it, largely in histories of Edinburgh University or Edinburgh University Library, have not altogether been accurate.

Inaccuracies have also occurred in some of the references to Nairn in published works, but the main point about Nairn's life is that it has not

been researched in any depth at all. A desire to investigate his life is, therefore, another reason for undertaking this thesis, and explains the presence of a biographical chapter (chapter two). A biography of Nairn is not only necessary to explain the personal intellectual background to the formation of the collection but is also valid because Nairn has his place, albeit a minor one, in Scottish history, influencing several people by his example and teaching, most notably Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), statesman, historian and Bishop of Salisbury. Burnet has left eloquent tribute to Nairn's influence upon him at an important stage in his career. Other sources for the biographical study are outlined at the beginning of the next chapter.

A study of the library formed by an individual is certainly valid in its own right, but one man's collection exemplifies only one man's taste. In order to deepen and broaden the study of scholarly book-collecting in Restoration Scotland a number of other sources have been used, namely records of various kinds left by booksellers and printers, details of which will be given at the beginning of chapter three, clerical testaments and, pre-eminently, records of the contents of other contemporary libraries. It is extremely fortunate that extensive data easily available for study exist for a considerable number of Scottish libraries formed in the second half of the seventeenth century. Use of this wealth of comparative material throws Nairn's collection into high relief and makes its study infinitely more significant as a study of the intellectual history of an age. Important trends which historians have tended to overlook or ignore are analysed. Another highly important reason for

undertaking this study is to show how these developments can be studied through the evidence of library contents. Although the subject analysis undertaken in the second half of this thesis is very firmly based on Nairn's collection there are detailed references to other libraries. In particular, there are examples from the contents of libraries formed by eight other Scots roughly contemporary with Nairn: the collections of Robert Leighton, John Gray, Patrick and Henry Scougal, William Moore, James Lundie, William Annand and James Wemyss. All were episcopalian ministers and were thus, with Nairn, members of the most pervasive, most influential and most highly academically educated professional body in the Scotland of Charles II. Further details of these clerical libraries and their creators will now be given.

The contemporary library nearest in size and spirit to Nairn's was that of Robert Leighton (1611-1684), a friend as well as a colleague of Nairn's. He was Principal of Edinburgh University between 1653 and 1662, became Bishop of Dunblane in 1662, and Archbishop of Glasgow in 1670, although not ~~being~~ formally installed until October 1671. He bequeathed his library, containing about one thousand three hundred and sixty bound volumes along with pamphlets and some manuscripts, to the Diocese of Dunblane where, it has been estimated, about twelve hundred and fifty volumes remain as the nucleus of the Leighton Library.³ The library has been studied by several scholars, most recently and notably by Gordon Willis (who has also recatalogued the Leighton Library to modern standards) in 1981,⁴ but very little work has been done in comparing Leighton's library with others of the period, or in studying the library

from any viewpoint other than as an illumination of Leighton's own life and works.

John Gray (1646-1717), minister of Aberlady 1684-1689, was considerably younger than Nairn and very much younger than Leighton, but although he did not die until long after 1685, his collecting seems to have been firmly rooted in the Restoration period: an examination by imprint of the thousand or so volumes in the 1929 printed catalogue of the library⁵ shows that, apart from pamphlet material (defined here as volumes containing four or more items), post-1685 imprints only count for 5.2% of the collection. Gray knew Nairn's *protégé* Gilbert Burnet when both were employed in Glasgow in the early 1670s, and Gray would probably have encountered Leighton at the same time. The motto that Gray put on many of his books, 'Summa religionis imitari quem colis' (the sum of religion is to imitate Him you worship) was used by Leighton on some of his books, and works by Leighton and Burnet are represented in Gray's library. One item by Leighton has notes by Gray extolling its author; another item has a note extolling Lawrence Charteris who, as will be seen, was a particular friend of Nairn. Gray also owned the catalogue of Nairn's library, the only catalogue he possessed.⁶ All in all, therefore, his library can be examined validly with those of Leighton and Nairn.

A third clerical library collected at least partly in the Restoration period which can be compared with that of Nairn was that formed by Patrick Scougal (1607?-1682). Scougal was an acquaintance of Nairn, minister of Saltoun in East Lothian from 1658 until 1664, when he became Bishop of Aberdeen, a post held until his death. His collection, numbering

over eleven hundred items and bequeathed to King's College Aberdeen, also contained the books collected by Patrick's son Henry (1650-1678), Professor of Divinity at King's College from 1673 until his premature death, and author of the religious classic *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*. Early manuscript catalogues of the collection, dating from around 1700 and 1717, are preserved in Aberdeen University Library.⁷

There is no evidence to show that Nairn knew either James Wemyss (d.1696), Principal of St Leonard's College, 1662-1689, and minister of St Leonard's parish, in St Andrews, or William Moore (c.1640-1684), Archdeacon of St Andrews, particularly well, but they were all certainly members of the same synod, and Nairn was a member of a visitation to the University of St Andrews in 1675. Moore's books, bequeathed to St Salvator's College, St Andrews, numbered about three hundred and eighty volumes, according to a manuscript catalogue of 1744 preserved in St Andrews University Library. This library has been the subject of an article by W. E. K. Rankin.⁸ Wemyss's library of over twelve hundred items, sold in 1697, has not been studied at all.⁹

The same is true of the collection of William Annand (1633-1689), Dean of Edinburgh, which was sold at auction in Edinburgh in 1690: the books are completely dispersed but copies of the printed catalogue of their sale, listed in 753 lots, survive.¹⁰ Whether Annand and Nairn knew each other is not known; and no evidence exists to show that Nairn knew another Edinburgh minister, James Lundie (c.1640-1696), a manuscript catalogue of whose books survives in Aberdeen University Library. This catalogue is incomplete but lists just under four hundred items. It is dated 27 June

1672, when Lundie was Minister of St Giles in Edinburgh (second charge), although some entries appear to have been added later.¹¹

The above by no means exhaust the surviving records of Scottish clerical libraries contemporary with Nairn's. For example, there is a list preserved in the National Library of Scotland of fifty-six books belonging to Humphrey Galbraith (d.1684), Minister of Dollar, drawn up shortly after his death and giving the prices the titles fetched when sold to friends of the deceased man; and the books of James Drummond (1629-1695), Bishop of Brechin, have been studied by J. F. Kellas Johnstone.¹² However, the seven libraries studied in detail along with Nairn's include both the largest and those gathered by men closest in outlook to Nairn. Bishop Drummond's collection has been largely ignored, for reasons which will be mentioned later in this chapter, but some use has been made of the Galbraith list.

Book-collecting in Restoration Scotland was not of course the exclusive preserve of the clergy, and records of several lay collections have been examined and used to give extra depth to certain aspects of the study. The published records of the book-collecting activities of the young lawyer John Lauder of Fountainhall (1646-1722) during the period 1665-1679 are particularly valuable.¹³ These give details of prices and means of acquisition as well as of titles acquired. Also useful, especially for prices and methods of supply, are documents in the archives of those Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale contemporary with Nairn, concerning their extensive book purchases.¹⁴ One chapter in this thesis (chapter three) is devoted to an investigation of how Restoration Scotsmen acquired their books, the expenses involved, and what was available,

concentrating on the Edinburgh book market. Very little has been published on this subject, despite the extensive primary material available, of which more will be said at the beginning of chapter three.

Other records, published or unpublished, have also been examined and used where apposite, either for titles acquired for libraries, or items read, or for methods of acquisition. These include: book purchases by the landowner and lawyer Alexander Brodie of Brodie (1617-1680) and the aristocrat Lord George Douglas (c.1667-1693?), son of the first Duke of Queensberry; the reading of the covenanting lawyer Archibald Johnston of Wariston (1610?-1663) and the landowner Andrew Hay of Craignethan; the purchases of the Glasgow cleric and university principal Robert Baillie (1599-1662), both for himself and for his university; the contents and purchases of Edinburgh University Library; the early purchases of the Advocates Library founded in Edinburgh in 1682; and the contents and early acquisitions of Saltoun Parish Library.¹⁵ This last library was begun in the late 1650s with a bequest of books by the Minister of Gordon, Norman Leslie, who died in 1657, was administered in the early 1660s by the parish minister Patrick Scougal, whose own library has already been mentioned, and augmented by a gift by Scougal's successor Gilbert Burnet, also mentioned already in this thesis, when he left in 1669.

Comparative studies could be moved back and forward in time, and also extended to England, but such is the wealth of information on Scottish libraries contemporary with Nairn's that use of records of titles held in such earlier Scottish libraries as those formed by William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585-1649), Clement Little (c.1527-1580) or Adam Bothwell

(1527-1593), or in such later ones as those of Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722) or Archibald Pitcairn (1652-1713), or in any contemporary English library, has not been made apart from occasional references to the above-named earlier Scottish collections when appropriate.

No detailed general comparative study based on the evidence available on titles held in middle and later seventeenth-century Scottish libraries has ever been undertaken. K. N. Colvile in an unpublished Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis of 1930, 'Scottish Culture in the Seventeenth Century', examines several libraries in one section of his work (pp. 29-38) but merely outlines various collections, and does not attempt an integrated analysis. Jonquil Bevan, in an essay published in 1983, examines the contents of the libraries of several Edinburgh graduates of the period in the light of their book-collecting as students.¹⁶ R. A. Houston, in a recently published work, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Literacy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1985), uses the evidence of the existence of seventeenth-century Scottish libraries for historical purposes, but not the evidence of individual titles.

There have, however, been some studies restricted by subject on the period which make good use of comparative analysis of the contents of libraries. Dr Christine Shepherd has studied the records of book acquisitions, both purchased and donated, of the libraries of the Scottish universities in the seventeenth century in great detail and used them to excellent effect in her unpublished Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis of 1975, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities

in the Seventeenth Century', although she does not mention the Nairn bequest. Published studies by Dr Shepherd drawing on her thesis work also mention library contents.¹⁷ Four decades earlier, Professor G. D. Henderson, in order to illuminate ideas held by certain Scottish clerics of the period, mentioned some of the theological contents of several clerical collections in his work, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*.¹⁸ Other areas of later seventeenth-century intellectual interests in Scotland have not been studied in depth in the light of library contents; this thesis attempts a detailed analysis on an almost complete range of subjects for the period 1660 to 1685.

Such an exercise is necessary and overdue. In 1972 Dr T. I. Rae wrote in a review of Dr R. H. MacDonald's *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden*:

It is difficult to believe that Drummond was unique among Scots in his appreciation of current European thought, especially in an era when Scottish nobles and barons, lawyers, physicians and educated merchants were regularly travelling to the continent. Scotland was perhaps physically on the fringe of Europe, but many of its inhabitants were by no means on its cultural and intellectual fringe. An examination of other Scottish library catalogues of the seventeenth century (and many exist), were it carried out with the same meticulous care and scholarly craftsmanship shown by Dr MacDonald in this work, would undoubtedly prove this point. And not only this; it would increase our knowledge of the ideas which motivated Scotsmen in this key century of Scottish development, and also help us to understand more fully the origins of the flowering of Scottish culture in the days of David Hume and Adam Smith.¹⁹

Rae here follows the argument put forward in 1961 by Father Anthony Ross, in this case applied to the study of early sixteenth-century Scottish libraries, in his introduction (pp. 5-22) to *Early Scottish*

Libraries, a list of printed books known to have been owned by Scots prior to the Reformation.

It will be evident that here is a most valuable source of material for the study of sixteenth century Scotland especially. It has been hitherto almost wholly neglected; attention to it promises to bring about important revisions in the current accounts of our intellectual and religious history.²⁰

Rae's advocacy of the use of the evidence of titles held in seventeenth-century Scottish libraries for historical purposes, and Father Ross's similar advocacy of the use of earlier evidence, is echoed in Sears Jayne's introduction to his *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1956):

Whether in refined or crude form, the basic materials of the intellectual and cultural life of the English Renaissance are present in the library catalogues of the period, and such catalogues serve better than any other tool to reveal the general character or spirit of the age.²¹

Examples of this use of the evidence of titles of printed books in English libraries prior to 1700 are not much more numerous than the use of records of the contents of contemporary Scottish libraries and are restricted either in length or in subject.²²

Most scholarly investigations into the contents of British libraries dating from the period between 1500 and 1700 have been into individual private collections, largely into the libraries of the famous, studied in order to further knowledge of the collector's life, thoughts, deeds or writings. The results are usually completely self-contained, for the best of reasons. The less well-known the figure, however, the more the study or catalogue of the library has part of its *raison d'être* outside the

collector himself and within Jayne's examination of 'the general character or spirit of the age'.

Several studies of single private libraries of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Scots have been published with this last as a professed goal. One such is Duncan Shaw's study of the library of Adam Bothwell (1527?-1593), Bishop of Orkney, an analytical narrative drawing upon a 1594 inventory published in 1932.²³ Shaw's express desire is to assess 'the impact which the renaissance made upon Scotland' (p. 141), and after outlining the material in the collection, with brief comparisons with other libraries, states (p. 168): 'This brief glance through the library is a constant reminder of the ways in which attitudes were shaped and which can now only be fragmentarily appreciated' (p. 168). Shaw's aims and aims here have therefore much in common.

Much more extended than Shaw's examination of Bothwell's library is R. H. MacDonald's study, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden*, published by Edinburgh University Press in 1971. It is worth comparing MacDonald's aims and methodology with those of this thesis. The prime object of MacDonald's work was to cast light on the mind and life of Drummond himself, a much more significant figure than Nairn, but another motive was to illuminate the reading of the Scottish man of culture in the earlier seventeenth century. In his introduction (p. 1) MacDonald declared: 'Drummond's interests were typically catholic ... This catalogue is important as a slice of intellectual history.' In lay-out, this thesis and MacDonald's work have close affinities. Both have biographical sections, investigations into the prices of books, and both have catalogues of the

respective library under investigation. However, MacDonald had a much more difficult task in seeking out what Drummond owned than I have had with Nairn's books. MacDonald's catalogue of Drummond's library is therefore more of an original contribution to scholarship than that here and this is reflected in the relegation of the catalogue of Nairn's library to an appendix.

Both MacDonald's work and this study also contain a series of subject essays based on the contents of the library studied, and MacDonald also refers to holdings of other Scottish libraries within these, although not as consistently, or in such great detail, as in the present study. Dr Robert Donaldson in a review of MacDonald's book has a very interesting criticism of his method of constructing these subject essays:

It might be suggested that if [in the subject essays prefacing the catalogue], instead of working from the general (Renaissance thought) to the particular (Drummond's books), Dr MacDonald had taken the opposite course - if he had described each subject-division of Drummond's library and worked into a brief commentary upon it an indication of such aspects of Renaissance thought as it exemplified, he might have provided his readers with a more concise narrative and one more continuously and evidently relevant to the aim of establishing the relationship between Drummond's collecting and contemporary learning.²⁴

This thesis tries to follow Donaldson's suggestions.

For a later seventeenth century Scottish library nothing to equal MacDonald's study has been published, despite the wealth of raw material available. The nearest comparison is the unpublished M. A. dissertation (University of Strathclyde, 1975) of W. A. Kelly, 'The Library of Lord George Douglas, c.1667-1693'.

The examination of the contents of libraries of the early modern period for general historical purposes is far more advanced in France and

elsewhere in Western Europe than in Britain, a facet of the historical discipline initiated largely by French scholars, and now known even in anglophone countries as *histoire du livre*. This discipline uses bibliographical methods to serve historical ends; and before discussing further why the intellectual history of the Restoration period in Scotland needs to be understood more fully, it is important to outline the bibliographical method behind this particular study as it tries to break new ground in its approach as well as in its content.

* * * * *

'Bibliography' is a word which has been used over several hundred years to define a multitude of activities.²⁵ In 1975 Paul Dunkin wrote:

Any definition of Bibliography is a statement of personal experience and belief. In 1950 Percy Freer listed fifty definitions since 1678, most of them since 1900 ... Few of these definitions agree completely; many differ widely. Even statements at different times by the same author do not always agree.²⁶

However, there are certain adjectives which, when used with the word, distinguish different definitions in a way acceptable to most interested parties. These will now be described briefly and only in so far as they have direct relevance to this thesis.²⁷

Without any adjectival qualifier but with an indefinite article the term 'a bibliography' could be defined, without the likelihood of provoking violent disagreement, as a listing of books which have some common factor. The order of listing of items in a bibliography displays the technique of 'enumerative bibliography', and each entry, if a very detailed description of an item, can display the techniques of 'descriptive bibliography': description of a title, imprint and make-up of the item according to

regulated formulae. The production of such an entry can exemplify 'analytical bibliography': the most detailed possible examination of the physical item, scrutinising the type, the paper used, the binding, the method of illustrative process employed, the way the item is constructed, the relationship between one copy and others.

This thesis is manifestly not a bibliography, although there is a bibliography at its end and bibliographies by others have certainly been used both to discover certain titles in Nairn's library and to find relevant source material, primary and secondary. Although this work contains a catalogue of Nairn's library as bequeathed to Edinburgh University Library, the entries are quite brief and, in this concision, conventions rightly eschewed in detailed descriptive bibliography have had to be adopted. Nor has analytical bibliography been undertaken. However, descriptive and analytical bibliography performed by others have been used where appropriate to obtain necessary details of items in Nairn's library.

Yet another kind of bibliography is 'historical bibliography': the historical study of books as physical objects. This also can embrace the history of printing and production of books and the means of their dissemination. To some extent this thesis exemplifies historical bibliography because there is a chapter on how Nairn and his Scottish contemporaries acquired their books and suggests, *inter alia*, collecting tastes and the imprints most readily available to them. A general background knowledge of historical bibliography has also proved useful when studying items in Nairn's library and in the understanding of terms used in certain sources.

A final kind of bibliography to be mentioned here is 'textual bibliography': the use of analytical bibliography in order to make a close study of a text with a view to establishing the history and purest version of that text. I have only used this type of bibliographical study once here, when examining five different copies of ^{the} 1678 printed catalogue of Nairn's bequest, which also contains a life of Nairn, in order to check possible textual variations. None was found.

It is in the field of textual bibliography that the great founding fathers and current theorists of modern descriptive and analytical bibliography in the Anglo-American world, Sir Walter Greg, A. W. Pollard, R. B. McKerrow, Philip Gaskell and Fredson Bowers have been most involved. French advances in the bibliographical field have, on the other hand, been more in the development of historical bibliography, studying the history of the printed book, its developing physical appearance, the methods of book production and distribution, and the type of material being purchased and read, in relation to developments in society. This discipline is the already mentioned *histoire du livre*, whose *doyen* was the distinguished historian Lucien Febvre, who died in 1956, two years before the publication of his influential work, *L'Apparition du livre*. In the preface he declared:

We hope to establish how and why the printed book was more than a triumph of technical ingenuity, but was also one of the most potent agents at the disposal of western civilisation in bringing together the scattered ideas of representative thinkers.^{2e}

It was in the last chapter, entitled 'Le livre, ce ferment', that Febvre's new ideas were worked out most fully. This is the longest chapter in the book, and wholly by Henri-Jean Martin, who in effect was responsible for

the whole work as published, and appeared as co-author. In *L'Apparition du livre* there is very little about libraries and their contents in relation to the intellectual climate of the time, which is not surprising given the large canvas of the work, but Martin has since concentrated on the narrower area of *histoire du livre* in France and has included in his investigations the study of the contents of French libraries.²⁹ His work is far from standing alone.³⁰ A feature of many of these studies is a stress on the socio-statistical approach, with graphs and tables outlining such things as trends in the numbers and origins of books owned or developments in the most popular titles or in the social class of owners.

This study also includes some statistical material and a quantitative analysis of Nairn's library, and the scale of its comparative approach to titles held in libraries is far more akin to the studies of French libraries than to the Scottish ones already mentioned or the English ones already referred to. Nevertheless, in its stress on intellectual history rather than social history it follows a British tradition in the study of individual libraries. All in all, therefore, this thesis can be seen as a hybrid in its underlying bibliographical methodology. It is to be hoped that the end result will have its own unity.

* * * * *

The intellectual history of Restoration Scotland has been described by several historians in the blackest of terms. H. T. Buckle, writing in the second volume of his *History of Civilization in England* published in 1861, concentrated on the wilder excesses of presbyterian zealots and deduced

that this was how everyone in Scotland thought and behaved during the period 1660-1688, unless, that is, they were part of that 'tyranny, so cruel and so exhausting, that it would have broken the energy of almost any other nation' (p. 281), to which Scotland was subject at this time. The Restoration period was 'the most unhappy period through which Scotland had passed since the fourteenth century' (p. 283). According to Buckle, seventeenth century preachers 'stopped all intellectual culture, discouraged all independent inquiry, made men in religious matters fearful and austere' (p. 341). The clergy 'laboured to corrupt the national intellect' (p. 365). For Peter Hume Brown in 1902 much of what Buckle said still held true: Monck's crossing of the border on 1 January 1660 'was the opening of the most pitiful chapter of the national history'.³¹ Sir George Clark as late as 1955 quoted the verdict of Hume Brown and added, 'the evils from which England suffered, intolerance, oppression, bloodshed, turbulence, were worse there [in Scotland], and were not relieved by the compensating health of literature and intellectual life'.³² Even more recently, Hugh Trevor-Roper has endorsed Buckle, Hume Brown and Clark. In an essay entitled 'The Scottish Enlightenment' and published in 1967 he paints an extremely gloomy picture of Scottish cultural life in the years 1660 to 1707:

At the end of the seventeenth century Scotland was a by-word for irredeemable poverty, social backwardness, political faction. Its universities were the unreformed seminaries of a fanatical clergy.

The last half-century of Scottish history before the union is a dark age of introversion and social war.³³

Since this outburst other scholars have counter-attacked: Professor John Clive in an essay published in 1970 entitled 'The Social Background of the Scottish Renaissance' firmly places the origins of the Enlightenment in the later seventeenth century.³⁴ The work of Christine Shepherd on the teaching of philosophy and science in the Scottish universities at this time, already referred to, shows beyond doubt that these institutions were far from being Trevor-Roper's 'unreformed seminaries of a fanatical clergy'. A collection of essays published in 1982 on the origins of the Scottish Enlightenment declared: 'The first, and perhaps the most obvious [theme], is found in the rejection of Trevor-Roper's thesis'.³⁵ One of the contributors to the collection suggested that 'there are strong reasons for regarding the Restoration of 1660 as a kind of watershed in Scottish intellectual life, as in other respects'.³⁶ These scholars, and others,³⁷ follow arguments put forward by H. W. Meikle in a pamphlet published in 1947 which pointed out many of the progressive elements in Scottish culture during the period 1660 to 1707.³⁸ I hope this thesis will also play its part in the continuing rehabilitation of the period in Scottish historiography.

* * * * *

The use of records of library contents as a historical source is certainly a valid one but records have to be used cautiously in order to avoid false conclusions. The first question to be asked about a private library when studying its records and its contents is whether the surviving source material, the books themselves and/or lists of contents, reflects accurately all the items collected by the creator of the library. If all

that is left is a catalogue record which dates from long after the death of the library's creator then the omission of books alienated before the compilation, or addition of books from other sources, could easily occur. If the surviving records date from before the collector had finished building his library, then, obviously, they will be incomplete. Even if records capture the library at its greatest extent they may not be in a form to indicate with accuracy and in the necessary detail what exactly the collection contained. Ideally, there should be a series of detailed catalogues dating from different periods in the collector's life to show the library's evolution. The less complete the catalogue record, the more reliance there has to be on the actual surviving copies of books from the library bearing some recognizable mark of ownership. When there is no catalogue at all then reliance on the books themselves is total; if such a library is known to have been scattered then a study of its contents can never be called complete.

Libraries formed in seventeenth-century Scotland and studied in detail for this thesis have left behind them a variety of records exemplifying most of the above points. When this study was begun, the earliest extant catalogue of Robert Leighton's library was a manuscript one compiled seven years after his death, in 1691.³⁹ Entries in this are often laconic and some are of the order '44 lib. hebraici' or 'The sixth bundle, lib. 15'.⁴⁰ However, a sixteen-page catalogue in Leighton's own hand, dating, from internal evidence, from about 1681, has now been rediscovered, having been lost since 1709.⁴¹ At the end of Leighton's holograph list there is another two-page list in the hand of his nephew, of books 'most of them

bought lately'. The catalogue must represent a record of Leighton's library more complete and accurate than hitherto possible; and yet after the quotation above there are the words 'besides pamphletts' and these are not listed. The 1691 inventory shows the pamphlets to have numbered over one hundred and seventy items.⁴² Moreover, the entries in the newly re-discovered catalogue never give imprints and rarely give details of edition. As Leighton neither marked his books systematically nor had a style of binding personal to himself, there must still be doubts over Leighton's ownership of certain items, whether still in the Leighton Library or known not ~~now~~ to be there ~~now~~.

No catalogue of the library of John Gray contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with his life appears to have survived, and there have undoubtedly been depredations from the collection over the centuries. W. Forbes Gray in his 1929 printed catalogue of the collection lamented that 'a perusal of the catalogue published a hundred years ago [1828] makes it abundantly evident that many valuable books have disappeared'.⁴³ However, the situation is more complicated than merely a matter of loss: there is also a matter of gain, because the library was augmented from the time of its bequest to the town of Haddington, Gray providing funds specifically for that purpose. Forbes Gray declares that Gray wrote on 'most' of his books 'Ex Libris Jo. Gray, Aberladiæ. Summa religionis imitari quem colis',⁴⁴ and the 1929 catalogue naturally aimed to include these. However, it is now known that some were omitted, and the 1929 catalogue also included nearly three hundred volumes with no Gray marks, but not an

almost equal number of pre-1717 imprints (1717 being the date of Gray's death) preserved with those indubitably Gray's.

This state of affairs was laid open when the collection was transferred to the National Library of Scotland in 1961. The books were rearranged according to certain criteria: first, books with the Gray ownership marks included in the 1929 catalogue, numbering 733 volumes; second, items with Gray marks not included in the 1929 catalogue, numbering twenty-five volumes; third, pre-1717 imprints without Gray markings but included in the 1929 catalogue, numbering 277 volumes; fourth, pre-1717 items without Gray marks and not included in the 1929 catalogue, numbering 266 volumes; and finally, post-1717 imprints. The last category does not concern us here, but the second group must certainly be included in an examination of Gray's library, and the third and fourth categories are most problematical. Were they all Gray's? Were they all post-1717 acquisitions? Did W. Forbes Gray have a method of distinguishing clearly those that were Gray's and those which were not? Judging from category two his work was flawed, and there is other evidence to reinforce this opinion. For example, Forbes Gray in his catalogue (p. 26) mentions that Gray owned two editions of John Barclay's *Satyricon*, but lists neither of them in the proper place, despite the fact that one of them has Gray markings. Very few volumes from the Gray Library have been examined by me, but one item which has been is Boyle's *Tractatus de Cosmicis Qualitatibus* (Amsterdam, 1671), item 771 in the 1929 catalogue. This has on its title page an *ex libris* identical to that on the title page of another volume examined, the *De Miraculis Occultis Naturae* of Levinus

Lemnius (Frankfurt, 1598), which is not in the 1929 catalogue. Are they both to be regarded as Gray's or are neither? Moreover, the National Library of Scotland did not have total accuracy in its rearrangement: one of the two incunabula in the Gray Library, Hugo de Vinac's *Sermones Dominicales* [Louvain] 1484, is clearly marked with Gray's 'ex libris' and motto, and yet it is grouped in the third category.

W. Forbes Gray declared that Gray's collection 'consists of fully 900' items.⁴⁵ W. J. Couper, writing thirty-three years previously, stated that 'the number of volumes left by Gray must have exceeded 1300', but also said that 'each volume in the library carries his motto', an error casting doubt on the veracity of his first statement.⁴⁶ For this study I have assumed that all pre-1717 imprints in the Library were Gray's: the 266 volumes not listed by Forbes Gray are very similar in subject and range to those that are, and there is a similarly high proportion of pre-1685 imprints compared to post-1685 ones. Most examples given in chapters four to seven are, however, taken from the 1929 printed catalogue. The whole problem of catalogues and ownership marks in the Gray Library is a classic example of the pitfalls attending the examination of libraries formed centuries ago, and demonstrates how the most detailed and painstaking scholarship is needed in such a study.

The first extant catalogue of the Scougal library, by then in Aberdeen University Library, was drawn up around 1700, and so some volumes could have been lost before that date, Patrick Scougal having died in 1682. This catalogue does not give imprints, although it does give the items a special shelfmark. However, a later catalogue, dating from 1717, gives

name of printer, place of printing and date, and appears to be a fine piece of work. However, there are a few discrepancies between the 1700 and 1717 catalogues, the books have been scattered throughout Aberdeen University Library, and many of them are known to have disappeared since 1700.⁴⁷ The Scougals did not mark their books.

The earliest extant catalogue of the library of William Moore dates from 1744, sixty years after his death. Many of the books have been lost since that date, and perhaps some were alienated before then. James Lundie's catalogue of 1672 has very brief entries, without imprints, and is clearly incomplete, lacking everything after 'T' in the quarto format. Four entries are of the order 'Miscellanies of Good Works'. Lundie did not die until 1696 and so had years of collecting left; the books are completely scattered. This last point is also true of the books of William Annand and James Wemyss. The sale catalogues (1690 and 1697 respectively) of their books are, however, detailed, although in Annand's catalogue there are such entries as 'a Book of Pamphlets', 'a Collection of Discourses in 2 vol.' and 'Twenty four Miscellany Books'. Wemyss's catalogue has only one instance of this, but it is a substantial *lacuna*: 'Miscellanies in eleven volumes'. It is not known if any of their books were held back from the auctions, or indeed if the firm selling their books introduced items from other sources into the auction.

How, therefore, do the records of Nairn's library compare with the above examples? It is to be regretted that there are no records to show the growth of his collection, but the completeness of the record of the library at Nairn's death falls only slightly short of total and is more

complete, accurate and detailed than any of the collections discussed above. This fact is crucial to the validity of this thesis.

A catalogue of the bequest to Edinburgh University Library was printed very shortly after Nairn's death,⁴⁸ but unfortunately not all books belonging to Nairn came to the University. According to the life of Nairn which prefaced this catalogue, all books came to Edinburgh University Library 'exceptis perpaucis quos amicis quibusdam suis in benevolentiae tesseram, aliisque nonnullis in theologiae candidatos distribuendis' (except for a very few which were given as keepsakes to certain of his friends, and a few others distributed to theology students) (p. 12). The number of items involved is not known: I believe none has been traced (see Appendix II), although it is possible that one such title was John Smith's *Select Discourses*, recommended to Burnet by Nairn in the early 1660s but not part of the bequest.⁴⁹ Also extra to the bequest is an important manuscript of Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's *History of Scotland* which Nairn gave to the Earl of Wemyss in 1670.⁵⁰ It was probably acquired specifically for presentation as there are no manuscripts in the bequest, and no other manuscripts once belonging to Nairn have been located. Largely for this reason, manuscript collecting by Scotsmen in Restoration Scotland has been ignored ^{in this thesis,} although Leighton owned a few, and the odd manuscript appears in the catalogues of John Gray, William Moore and William Annand.

The 1678 catalogue records three items given by Nairn to Edinburgh University Library in 1673 (184, 880, 1488) but not, strangely enough, a single item given in 1677 (1678), which suggests that it may have been

given by another James Nairn (see Appendix II). Eight other items (1660A-1667) were also excluded in error but we know of these from manuscript notes, probably dating from 1698, in the hand of Robert Henderson, Librarian of Edinburgh University, at the end of one copy of the 1678 catalogue in Edinburgh University Library (Df.4.98). Despite these omissions and other drawbacks to be mentioned below, the printed catalogue provides a splendid base for study, giving much detail in an age when all too many libraries were recorded in brief, ambiguous, fashion. It is presumably the work of William Henderson, Librarian of Edinburgh University between 1667 and 1684 and father of Robert, but as it was printed in the year of Nairn's death, and Nairn died in July, Henderson may have had a catalogue of Nairn's own, now lost, to guide him.

The 1678 catalogue is arranged by author, gives a short title, the number of volumes if the work is in more than one, language statement if the work is in Greek and Latin, format, and place and date of printing. Within author, it is arranged by format. It is far from being perfect, although on occasion it has proved more accurate than the 1918-1923 printed catalogue of Edinburgh University Library. There are errors in attribution and in imprints, slips in spelling, typographical errors, misleading title transcriptions, headings for anonymous works which are certainly eccentric from a twentieth century point of view, and an attitude to format of which Professor Bowers would not approve. However, after scrutinising the current Edinburgh University Library catalogue of printed books, pre-1985 acquisitions, and the many bibliographical aids now available to the researcher, ^{I have found that} not one of the titles specifically mentioned

in the 1678 catalogue remains completely ^{un}identified, although one or two are problematical (for example 273, 642, and 733). However, two volumes of pamphlets out of ten maddeningly listed merely as 'pamphlets collected and bound in leather' and 'others bound in parchment' remain unidentified. No bibliographical aid can solve the problems of these entries; the other eight volumes have been traced through serendipitous browsing and scrutiny of a manuscript list of pamphlets in Edinburgh University Library, dated 1801 (Da.1.26.).

One stumbling block to a completely accurate count of all the separate items in the bequest is these two pamphlet volumes; another is the fact that a considerable number of the copies of items listed in the 1678 catalogue which for reasons to be explained below are to be regarded as Nairn's are at present bound up with items not specifically listed in that catalogue, or at least alluded to. All items in these volumes except one, containing post-1678 imprints, have been assumed by me to have been owned by Nairn, although in fifty-two cases the only evidence is a shelfmark on the first item, dating from seventy-five years after the bequest.

Another setback in an accurate tally of items in the library is the fact that the catalogues of major libraries do not agree on the bibliographical separateness of some items from others: see for example items 1376, 1547 and 1652. However, after weighing up all the evidence, I reckon there to be a maximum of 1929 items with known titles in the bequest. There would of course have been at least four more in the two untraced pamphlet volumes, and probably a good deal more than four.

The number of volumes in the collection is far easier to calculate with accuracy as they were counted in 1698 by Robert Henderson, against a copy of the 1678 catalogue. He counted 1838, although from his figures the total should have been 1840.⁵¹ A figure of 1840 volumes can be regarded as accurate to single digits. Robert, when he notes the result of his count, pointed out that the Library's Donation Book mistakenly gave the total number of volumes as 1743.⁵² This erroneous figure has been repeated by Alexander Bower in his *History of the University of Edinburgh*.⁵³

How is it possible to distinguish the actual copies owned by Nairn from others, necessary to trace provenances and items bound in and not mentioned in the 1678 catalogue? There are several ways of doing so. First, apart from those items which do have markings in Nairn's own hand, markings which will be described later in this chapter, three items have 'Mr. Nairn' written on them, although none in my opinion in Nairn's hand.⁵⁴ Two more have 'J Nairne' on them, again not in Nairn's hand.⁵⁵ Second, about a quarter of the bequest bears a donation inscription, usually on the title page, in the hand of either William or Robert Henderson. This is usually a variant of 'Liber Bibliothecae Edinensis ex dono R. D. Jac. Nairn 1678', although on occasion this is whittled down to 'Lib Jac N' (for example 494 or 618) or even 'L J N' (for example 203, 324, 622, 1363, 1471 or 1608). The various inscriptions appear to have been added over several years, if the erroneous dates of the bequest as given on the title-pages reflect the time of writing: for example, 1679 on 318 and 1603, 1680 on 323 and 491, 1681 on 1504, 1683 on 133, 1682 on 1635, 1687 on 1110, 1254,

and 1413, and 1690 on 107. One volume definitely not in the bequest acquired the inscription in error (1183).

A third way of identifying Nairn copies is as follows. When first placed in Edinburgh University Library, the books were kept together, as was the custom at that time with notable donations, and it seems that they were arranged according to the 1678 catalogue, although there were probably several series graded by size/format, to save space. This arrangement can be surmised because some volumes have written upon one or more of their edges a letter which is the first letter of the heading as given in the 1678 catalogue, followed by a number which is that of the volume in that alphabetical sequence (e.g. E 48), as noted in two Edinburgh University Library copies of the catalogue (Df.7.85. and Df.4.98.). The placing of this mark varies from volume to volume, on a few occasions being on the title-page (for example 324). Only forty-six such marks (some giving numbers only) have been noticed, but the mark provides on occasion verification of a copy as Nairn's. Many other examples may have faded to illegibility, or been cropped in rebinding.

The most ubiquitous mark which notes a book as part of the Nairn bequest, however, is a shelf-mark written on the title-page after reorganisation of the University Library following a move to new premises in 1753. The collection was still kept together but now the shelf-mark was of the order '2P.4.17.'. This mark of course dates from long after Nairn's death, and on one occasion (see 1540) it is certain that the wrong edition has acquired this mark. This is also very likely the case with three others (255, 754 - volume two only - and 807) while imprints of

other items with the shelf-marks do not correspond with those of the 1678 catalogue. However, with the great majority it can be shown that imprints in the 1678 catalogue must be erroneous: the means of so doing are noted after each relevant entry in the appended catalogue. With the others I feel that the 1678 catalogue erred, even if error cannot be proved, and that virtually all the items sporting the post-1753 shelfmark and no earlier marks were Nairn's. Nevertheless, if an item has no Nairn markings prior to this pre-1753 shelfmark, no argument relying on a copy of an item, as opposed to the work itself, is made here without noting the fact. This is particularly necessary when citing items bound in and not either specifically mentioned or alluded to in the 1678 catalogue.

I consider that

Bearing all the above points in mind, Nairn's copies of ninety-nine titles cited in the 1678 catalogue are definitely no longer in Edinburgh University Library. For sixty-eight others there are neither marks to show they were regarded at any stage as part of the Nairn bequest nor evidence to show they definitely were not his, although detailed work with Edinburgh University Library accession registers may eliminate a few. These gaps are disappointing but hardly surprising given the time-scale involved.

Another setback in the study of any private library as an exemplar of intellectual tastes of the time could be that a smaller or larger part of the collection may have been inherited, and thus not really a reflection of the tastes of the inheritor. Leighton is a Scottish seventeenth-century example. His father, Alexander (1568-1649), was a physician and presbyterian polemicist and there is considerable likelihood that some

books belonging to this formidable man found their way into the collection of his son by default as much as by conscious choice on Robert's part. Robert Leighton's religious attitudes were very different to those of his father. The collection of Bishop Drummond of Brechin contains a high proportion of books collected by his grandfather, father and elder brother, as well as by some other female relatives, and this is the reason for largely ignoring this collection in this study. Nairn's father was a merchant, also James Nairn, and there is no definite evidence of his having owned books.⁵⁶ One item (665), with an imprint date of 1646, has the name 'Walt: Nairne' on it but this is possibly a coincidence: the Revd James Nairn is not known to have had any relative of this name.

When a library is being studied for historical purposes, as Nairn's is, it is also important to remember the time scale of the building up of the collection. The longer the life of the collector, the less accurately can the collection be related directly to the culture of a short historical period, unless of course there are dated lists of purchases, or unless the books themselves bear dates of purchase. Once again, Leighton's collection can be used as an example of a library with these inherent disadvantages. Even excluding his father's books, Leighton's collecting career probably spanned at least half a century and his pattern of collecting remains unknown. Patrick Scougal also lived to a ripe age, being born in 1607 and dying in 1682, although the Scougal library at Aberdeen University Library also contains the library of his son, who died in 1678 aged only twenty-eight. Nairn was forty-nine when he died and so his serious collecting activity must have spanned at the most just over thirty years. Indeed, no

less than 44% of the collection bears imprint dates later than 1649, a remarkably high proportion.

Another factor which must be taken into account when a library is being studied in the context of the culture of a single country is the amount of time spent by the creator of the library outside that country. Leighton's father spent his whole adult life in London, ten years of it, 1630-1640, ~~involuntarily~~ ^{in London} in prison; Robert Leighton was born ~~there~~ ^{in London} and made frequent visits throughout his life. He retired to Sussex in 1674 and lived there until his death. He also spent long periods on the continent in the 1630s. William Annand also spent much time outside Scotland, residing in England between the late 1630s and 1662.

The long period of time spent outside of the country by another Scottish-born seventeenth-century clerical book-collector who died in the period covered by this thesis is a reason for ignoring his library here: the Revd Mungo Murray bequeathed some eighteen hundred volumes to St Leonard's College, St Andrews, in 1670 but although he began his career as a regent at St Andrews in the 1620s and earlier 1630s he moved to England during the latter part of that decade, becoming Rector of Wells in Norfolk. He never returned to Scotland. His longevity is another reason for not including his collection in this study. Nairn, in contrast with Murray, Annand and Leighton, is only known to have left Scotland briefly, in 1672, when he went to Paris for an operation. His library can therefore with confidence be put in a purely Scottish context.

Nairn's library was his own creation. Did he read the books he acquired? From the books themselves after three hundred years there is

little certain evidence, for Nairn rarely made marks on his books, unlike Leighton who frequently wrote on items in his library. After an examination of manuscript annotations on books in the Nairn bequest I have accepted only three groups of marginal markings as being beyond reasonable doubt in his hand, having compared them with a piece of writing indubitably by Nairn. In content they are of minimal interest: on Sebastian Munster's introduction to Simon Grynaeus's *Novus Orbis* (Basle, 1536) (1546) there are two notes stating the Scottish equivalents of German miles; on his copy of Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* ([Amsterdam] 1643) (254) there are a few notes elucidating proper names used by Buchanan; and in the letter of dedication and letter to the reader in Robert Bellarmine's *Disputationes* (Cologne, 1628) (161), there are four brief glosses on particularly contentious statements by Bellarmine.

Over and above these marks the title-pages of two other volumes bear script by Nairn. He poignantly, but rather mundanely, wrote 'Ars longa vita brevis' on Duncan Liddel's *Artis Conservandi Sanitatem Libri Duo* (Aberdeen, 1651) (937); and on Jean Crespin's *Actiones ... Martyrum* ([Geneva] 1560) (1051), whose title-page bears the signatures of both Andrew Melville and Lawrence Charteris, Nairn has added against the latter 'verbi Divini Praeco gravissim⁹ & doctissim⁹ ad Bathans vel Yester'. At the end of one of his volumes of pamphlets (1670) Nairn wrote some inconsequential words in Latin;⁵⁷ and on a group of twelve books he noted their cost.⁵⁸

Despite the lack of holograph marks, Nairn's deep knowledge of the contents of his books can be inferred from the library's great coherence

and deep sense of structure. The great deal of money and effort he must have expended in its creation, and the bequest itself to Edinburgh University Library, also demonstrate Nairn's pride and commitment as a scholarly collector.

The sources for the study of Nairn's library and those of contemporary Scots are certainly not as comprehensive or unambiguous as might be wished, but given the type and quality of those that are available, and also a realisation of their limitations, use of the contents of Nairn's library and of other contemporary libraries to illuminate and reassess the intellectual life of Restoration Scotland can be made with confidence.

Chapter 2. 'The Brightest Man I Ever Knew Among All Our Scottish
Divines': James Nairn, 1629-1678. With a Concluding Section
on the Book-Purchasing Power of Nairn and his Clerical
Colleagues in Theory and Practice

The sources for a study of the life of the Revd James Nairn are scattered and fragmentary. There is a substantial life, in Latin, printed as a preface to the catalogue of his bequest to Edinburgh University Library, but although this gives some useful facts it really says very little for its length and is hagiography rather than biography in the modern sense. Also in Latin, and containing no useful biographical information, are three Latin verse eulogies on Nairn composed by Ninian Paterson, Minister of Liberton, and printed in his *Epigrammatum Libri Octo*, issued early enough in 1678 for Nairn to possess a copy (1164). Luckily, other sources, giving concrete information, do exist. The records of the church, which he served for over twenty years, give useful data, as do archives of the state, which he also served from time to time. There are also records left by his contemporaries and near-contemporaries, pre-eminently the reminiscences of Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), Bishop of Salisbury, whose written tributes to Nairn are the single most important source for this biography.

Not all accounts are wholly friendly: the presbyterian James Kirkton (1620?-1699), writing in the very late seventeenth century, declared that Nairn was 'their [the episcopalians] paragon, a man of gifts but much

suspected as unsound';¹ and Robert Wodrow, writing in the early eighteenth century, and drawing no doubt on Kirkton, described him as 'a person of very considerable learning and gifts, but inclinable to the Pelagian tenets as was then thought'.² Pelagianism, the belief that actions in this life made by man's own free will had a bearing on salvation and damnation, was anathema to the predestinarian doctrines of strict Calvinists.

There have been few published references to Nairn since the early eighteenth century. Alexander Bower in his *History of the University of Edinburgh*, published between 1817 and 1830, confused him with an eighteenth-century Revd James Nairn, saying (III, 354) that Nairn was minister of Pittenweem and bequeathed his books in 1694, while Thomas McCrie in his edition of *The Life of Mr Robert Blair* (Edinburgh, 1848) made a mistake in his only note on Nairn (p. 468) by saying that he was Minister of the Abbey Church in 1664, when in fact he had left there two years previously. On the other hand, Osmund Airy in his entry (1886) for Gilbert Burnet in the *Dictionary of National Biography* stated that Nairn in the early 1660s was 'the most eminent of Scotch divines', a highly contentious, if very flattering, statement. More recent references have avoided both errors of fact and overly fulsome praise: G. D. Henderson, Professor of Church History at Aberdeen University, writing in the 1930s, has referred to Nairn's piety, moderation and preaching ability, stating that Nairn was 'noted for his gentlemanliness and eloquence and enthusiasm';³ and W. B. Foster of the Union Theological Seminary in New York also referred to Nairn's piety in a book published in 1958.⁴ J. B.

Buckroyd in her *Church and State in Scotland, 1660-1681* (Edinburgh, 1980) mentioned (p. 96) Nairn as one of Archbishop Leighton's 'evangelists' of 1670.

Very little in Nairn's own hand survives. The longest holograph extant is a signed letter to the Earl of Lauderdale dated 3 March 1662.⁵ There is also a signed acknowledgement of receipt of money owed to him by the government dated 6 January 1671.⁶ A handful of other signatures also survives,⁷ and his few manuscript additions to books in his library have been mentioned in the last chapter. Apart from the 1662 letter no correspondence is extant, although a short quotation from a letter appears in the Latin life (p. 13). Paraphrases, in the hand of the Countess of Wemyss, of fifty-two sermons by Nairn survive in a private collection; there is another shorthand transcription of a 1659 sermon preserved in the National Library of Scotland.⁸ A paraphrase of a sermon on I Peter 2. 17 by one 'J. N.' is preserved in the Bodleian Library, one item in a volume of sermons mainly by Robert Leighton.⁹ That 'J. N.' is the subject of this chapter is highly likely, given the Leighton connection and the subject matter, but cannot be a certainty. The writing is definitely not Nairn's; neither is it Leighton's. These sermons can give little true flavour of Nairn's preaching because Nairn always chose to preach *extempore*. More will be said about this in chapter six below.

According to the Latin life, 'Jacobus Warnius Edinburgi, Anno 1629. ineunte, Parentibus honestissimi Civum Ordinis natus est' (James Nairn was born in Edinburgh at the beginning of 1629; his parents were of the burghess class) (p. 1). His father, mentioned in the entry in the Edinburgh

Burgess Roll dated 16 May 1660 which accorded burgess status upon the Revd James Nairn, was also named James and was described as being a merchant.¹¹ From the entry according burgess status upon him, dated 1 July 1607, we know that his wife was Elizabeth Tod; the marriage, which took place on 27 January 1607, is recorded in the Edinburgh Marriage Register.¹² Unfortunately, the Revd James Nairn's baptism is not recorded in the Edinburgh Register of Baptisms, although that of a cousin, also James Nairn, is recorded on 2 October 1629.¹³ This baby was the son of John Nairn and Marion Tod, two brothers having married two sisters. It is irritating that the Revd James Nairn's baptism is not recorded, especially as the names of several elder brothers and sisters are present in the register, from Elizabeth on 31 January 1608 and Robert on 23 May 1609, to Archibald on 5 May 1622, John on 8 June 1624 and Isobel on 29 November 1625. The baptisms of cousins are also recorded.¹⁴ Perhaps Elizabeth Nairn was not in Edinburgh when her son James, presumably the last of her many children given her age, was born.¹⁵ I have not been able to ascertain just how many of Nairn's brothers and sisters survived into adulthood but one sister certainly outlived him and she, or possibly another sister, married and produced at least one child, a son.¹⁶ The Revd James Nairn's elder brother John, who followed his father into business, also married and had a son, another James Nairn. John Nairn died in 1665.¹⁷ Although remaining single, the Revd James Nairn would thus appear to have had a considerable number of near blood relations.

James Nairn senior is recorded as living, at least from the 1630s, in a prosperous part of Edinburgh, the North-West quarter, first section, in

Hope's Close.¹⁸ This area is now, appropriately for the subject of this thesis, part of the site of the Church of Scotland Assembly Hall. In his prime Nairn's father was a wealthy man. Dr James Brown has recently studied the Edinburgh merchant body in great detail for the period 1600-1638 and has identified 300 individuals in the capital who 'effectively dominated the import and export trade of the country'.¹⁹ James Nairn senior was one of them.²⁰ His children obviously had a secure childhood, although by Nairn senior's death in the mid-1650s his wealth was probably much diminished: he must have been elderly and his son John had probably taken over many of his business affairs. The 1650s were also a time of great economic depression.²¹

More distant relations were more important individuals. Nairn was in some way connected with Robert Nairn of Strathurd, a lawyer who became first Lord Nairn in 1681: Strathurd was ^a~~one of Nairn's~~ surety when Nairn was appointed Librarian at Edinburgh University in July 1652, ~~despite the fact~~ ^{although Strathurd} /

was in prison in London at the time.²² 'Robert Nairn, advocate', Lord Nairn's father, was a witness at the baptism in Edinburgh of the Revd James Nairn's cousin, also Robert Nairn, on 26 December 1620.

James Nairn senior served on the Town Council during the years 1625 and 1626; and, much later, in 1650, he was one of a committee appointed by the town after the Battle of Dunbar to treat with Cromwell and his occupying forces and safeguard Edinburgh's interests. He was still serving on it in 1652.²³ None of this is mentioned in the Latin life, and neither is a contretemps between Nairn senior and William Forbes, minister at St Giles and later to be first Bishop of Edinburgh, on 25 March 1624,

which reflects the violent abuse prevalent in church arguments, arguments which the Revd James Nairn did his utmost to avoid in his own life. Nairn senior, after a squabble between the minister and certain eminent Edinburgh citizens over church procedures, was called by Forbes 'an ignorant, a recusant ... a bairne, howbeit ye have hair on your face'.²⁴

What the Latin life (p. 1) does mention is that Nairn's uncle served for a considerable time on the Town Council. Nairn's uncle John served on the Council in the years 1628 and 1629²⁵ but the person to whom the life undoubtedly refers is Sir Archibald Tod, another very substantial merchant who was Lord Provost in 1647, 1648, 1650, and between 1652 and his death in 1655. These years saw the nadir of Edinburgh's fortunes and Tod is reputed to have died of overwork.²⁶ From Tod's example, and to a lesser extent his father's, Nairn would have been conscious of political events and the cares of public office from an early age.

It is not known where Nairn received his elementary education. It is highly likely that he attended the High School, but as no attendance records survive it is impossible to know for certain.²⁷ Wherever his schooling, he would have received the rudiments of the classical education necessary before proceeding to the University, which he did in 1646, the first dated event known about Nairn after his birth.²⁸ He was seventeen years old, a relatively late age to begin college studies in seventeenth-century Scotland, but by no means exceptional: Nairn's friend Lawrence Charteris had been the same age when he entered Edinburgh University four years previously.²⁹ Nairn's progress may have been hampered by ill-health

or the outbreak of plague which caused the University to move to Linlithgow, November 1645 to March 1646.³⁰

His regent was Thomas Crawford, declared by Sir Archibald Grant to be 'of all the Regents, the personage most deserving of honour from the University of Edinburgh'.³¹ Crawford, son-in-law of the printer and bookseller Andro Hart, was also termed Professor of Mathematics and it seems that his charges did indeed receive more mathematics than was customary.³² Otherwise, Nairn's studies followed a well-established pattern beginning with Latin revision and moving on to Greek and Aristotelian philosophy, a pattern which will be explained and related to his library in later chapters of this thesis. Crawford had also been head-master of the High School between 1630 and 1640 and so Nairn may have ~~had~~ already experienced his teaching before coming to university.

Nairn's childhood and adolescence took place against a background of increasing violence and political and religious polarisation: in February 1638, following the attempt to impose a liturgy at St. Giles's in the summer of 1637, the National Covenant, outlining Scotland's abhorrence of Roman Catholicism and ceremonies associated with it, was drawn up in Edinburgh and signed by a great number of people throughout Scotland. In November 1638 the General Assembly meeting in Glasgow ordered the deposition of the bishops and violently attacked the basis of Charles I's Scottish church policy: the King's personal authority in Scotland never recovered. In 1640 a Scottish army invaded England to help the parliamentarians; three years later, the English parliamentarians, in return for financial and military aid, agreed to the terms of the *Solemn*

League and Covenant of 1643, which condemned episcopacy, demanded the adoption of presbyterianism in England, and asserted parliamentary privileges. The first effect of this in Scotland was however not quite as intended: a Scottish army pledged to support Charles I was raised under the Earl of Montrose and undertook a campaign on Scottish soil punctuated by bloody successes until it ended in even bloodier defeat in the Borders in September 1645.

The background to Nairn's study at Edinburgh University was even more violent. Armed insurrection reached Edinburgh itself when the city was occupied by extreme Calvinists in September 1648, the so-called 'Whiggamore Raid'. The raiders were joined in October by English troops led by Cromwell, who the previous month had wiped out a Scottish army raised on Charles I's behalf after certain Scots had made an 'engagement' with the King. The extremists consolidated their hold on Scottish affairs in the succeeding months. The execution of Charles I in January 1649 created another dimension: the regicide was regarded by most Scots as completely illegal, and they promptly proclaimed Charles's son as their king. Political events simmered for the rest of the year but as if to compensate there was the most severe witch-hunt in Scottish history, with about three hundred and fifty separate commissions for trial being issued, virtually all of them in East Lothian and Berwickshire.³³ In 1650, political and military events moved very quickly indeed: Montrose raised an army on Charles II's behalf but eventually fell into the hands of the presbyterian extremists, was put on trial, condemned to death and finally ^{hanged} ~~hung~~, drawn and quartered publicly in Edinburgh on 21 May 1650, that is,

less than two months before a more peaceful public event, the laureation of Nairn and forty-one other graduands on 15 July.³⁴ Less than two months after that, on 3 September, Cromwell inflicted a crushing defeat at Dunbar on a Scottish army fighting, as had Montrose, for Charles II, but this time under the control of the extreme Covenanters. Three thousand Scottish soldiers were killed. The Cromwellian forces entered Edinburgh and laid parts of it, including University buildings, waste.³⁵ The city authorities did what they could to ameliorate the situation, and as has been said Nairn's father was deeply involved, but life in the capital in the latter part of 1650 could not have been particularly pleasant.

The above is a highly simplified account of what was a very complicated and convoluted series of events between 1638 and 1650. These events are recorded here not only because they are reflected in certain items in Nairn's library, but also because they are germane to a full understanding of Nairn's character as evinced in later actions and expressed opinions. They must have helped to imbue him with a profound dislike of involvement in public life and of extremism of any kind; they also gave him further examples of the fickleness of political fortunes.

Nairn's movements from the date of his laureation until the middle of 1652 are not known but he most likely began his theological studies in Edinburgh as well as he could in very adverse conditions. The capital was in chaos, in effect under occupation by a foreign power. For the session 1650-51 the University moved to Kirkcaldy where a paltry thirteen students laureated in May 1651.³⁶ It was customary in Scotland at that time for divinity students to take four years to complete their studies



after graduating M.A.; at Edinburgh at this time theological studies were under the direction of David Dickson, a prominent and elderly covenanting divine who was one of the framers of the 1638 National Covenant and was most celebrated as a preacher and biblical scholar. He was not one of the most extreme Calvinist party but was leader of the 'Resolutioners', those who had resolved to repeal the Act of Classes of January 1649 which was passed at the height of the power of the Calvinist extremists and which excluded ^{from public office} all involved in the engagement made the previous year with Charles I. Whether Dickson had much time to devote to his theology students is open to question: he was deeply involved in the bitter and profound arguments which tore apart the Church in Scotland in the early 1650s. Dickson conducted a pamphlet war with the extremist James Guthrie in 1651 and 1652, and was by no means always in Edinburgh during these years.³⁷ He was Moderator of the General Assembly at its meetings of August and November 1652 and February and May 1653, and also of the short lived Assembly of July 1653 which was forcibly disbanded by a troop of soldiers at Cromwell's orders.³⁸ Ecclesiastical influence in civil government in Scotland had thus suffered a complete reversal since the heady days of early 1649. This see-saw of power in which clerics were deeply involved no doubt helped to formulate Nairn's views on the church-state relationship, reflected in the holdings of his library as well as in his actions in later life.

At the end of July 1652 he became Librarian at Edinburgh University, with the salary of 400 merks *per annum* (£266 13s.4d.), an amount which was exactly half of the minimum stipend for a minister as decreed in

1633.³⁹ It was customary at this time for the University to appoint a young man as Librarian, whose tenure tended to be short as he moved on to something more lucrative, usually a position in the church. Over forty years later, Robert Wodrow as a young man studying theology was librarian in a similar situation at Glasgow University. A biographer said of him:

He accepted of it not from considerations connected with its pecuniary emoluments, then exceedingly slender; but because it gave him a favourable opportunity of access to books and other facilities for his favourite studies.⁴⁰

No doubt Nairn had the same considerations in mind.

With the low state of the University's affairs in the early 1650s Nairn would have found the Library in considerable disorder. He nevertheless spent money gathered from new graduates on books and mathematical instruments although no records of what exactly he bought, or of other activities by Nairn as Librarian, survive.⁴¹ The keepership of the Library no doubt facilitated his acquaintanceship with the new Principal foisted on the University by Cromwell early in 1653. This was Robert Leighton, formerly Minister of Newbattle, a saintly scholar who was to influence greatly several of his students and younger friends such as Sir Robert Sibbald and Gilbert Burnet, both of whom have left written appreciations of Leighton's eloquence, learning, modesty, piety and lack of worldly ambition.⁴² That Nairn and Leighton found much in common is shown in the number of times their names were to be linked in the years after 1660. It is very likely, although it cannot be proved, that Leighton as Principal supplied to Nairn sympathetic guidance in his theological studies which Dickson could not or would not give. Leighton and Dickson

did not see eye to eye. Wodrow tells how Leighton wished Dickson to teach, or at least recommend, Thomas à Kempis to his students. This Dickson refused to do as the mediaeval theologian was naturally Catholic and put too much emphasis on man's free will.⁴³ A study of Nairn's library will show clearly whose side he would have been on.

Nairn demitted office on 28 December 1653.⁴⁴ Exactly why he resigned then is not known, but in the largely unpublished diary of the second Earl of Wemyss there appears, in a 'note of servants' fees at Whitsunday 1654 at Wemyss serving Lady Margaret Leslie [Wemyss's wife]', the following entry, 'To Mr. James Nairn or any chaplain that I shall have' and against it, '£200'.⁴⁵ This was very probably half a year's salary: Nairn's payment in the 1660s and 1670s as minister of Wemyss was handed over in two equal installments, at Whit and Martinmas. It looks therefore as if Nairn left university employment to take up the position of private chaplain to the Countess. Filling the post of chaplain to a member of the aristocracy was quite common amongst aspiring ministers in seventeenth-century Scotland, and gave useful experience and contacts.

How Nairn came to know the Earl and Countess of Wemyss is not known; nor is it known when he resigned the chaplaincy, but in 1655 Nairn was undergoing the various tests required of one aiming for the ministry. These consisted of trials before the presbytery in popular preaching, biblical exposition, and an examination of knowledge of biblical languages and church history.⁴⁶ They were no mere formality. Once he had completed the trials to the presbytery's satisfaction the aspirant would be licensed as an expectant and the way would be open to seek a charge. Nairn had

successfully reached this stage by November 1655, for in that month the kirk session of the parish of the Canongate or Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh recommended that he become the second of that populous parish's two ministers. On Tuesday 6 November Nairn preached in the Abbey Church and he preached again the next Sunday. When the Session met after the service his sermon was unanimously approved and the next day another Session took place, augmented by other members of the parish, which

unanimouslylie Nominat and Elect Mr James Nairne Student in Divinitie and Expectant of the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, not onlie haveing sufficient informatioun of his sober and Godlie conversatioun and of his abilities for the Ministrie, But also many of them haveing heard a pairt of his publick tryalls before the presbyterie in Edinburgh To witt, Addition, Exercise, popular sermone, and haveing heard him preach to the whole congregatioun once and againe with great satisfactioun.⁴⁷

The various necessary procedures consequent to this decision took place in the following months and finally Nairn was admitted as minister by the presbytery on Thursday 17 April 1656.⁴⁸

The ecclesiastical atmosphere in Edinburgh at the end of 1655 was a little more relaxed than it had been for several years. For instance, the first communion since 1648 was celebrated in July of that year.⁴⁹ Moreover, Cromwell's newly appointed President of the Scottish Council, Lord Broghill, was making overtures to ecclesiastical moderates in the hope of healing the stultifying divisions in the Scottish Church.⁵⁰ The minister in the first charge of the Canongate parish, George Leslie (second charge, 1636; first charge, 1646), had kept in the political background throughout his ministry. Indeed, his moderation had led in 1643 and 1644 to an unsuccessful attempt at the General Assembly to translate him to Leslie in Fife.⁵¹ He was married to Elizabeth Charteris,

sister of Henry Charteris the younger (1565-1628), Principal of Edinburgh University between 1599 and 1620,⁵² and thus daughter to Henry Charteris the printer and aunt of Lawrence Charteris (1625-1700) with whom Nairn was to be closely associated in later life. It may have been through the Leslie's that Nairn and Lawrence Charteris met, but the latter, who was laureated M.A. in 1646 at Edinburgh, would have been undergoing his divinity studies when Nairn was an undergraduate. Moreover, Nairn's father is known to have had business dealings with Lawrence's uncle Thomas in the 1630s,⁵³ and so the two friends could easily have known each other from childhood.

Leslie died in the summer of 1656,⁵⁴ and Nairn at the age of twenty-seven moved into the first charge of this parish, an important one through its proximity to the capital and the number of powerful people amongst the parishioners: the Canongate was ^{where} ~~that part of the capital in which~~ many of the nobility had their town houses. Nairn was made a burghess of the Canongate on 25 September; Edinburgh followed suit four years later, on 16 May 1660.⁵⁵ Nairn's church was the nave of the mediaeval abbey of Holyrood, the burial place of Scottish kings and scene more recently of the coronation of Charles I in 1633. All in all, he had shown conspicuous success, and his move from second charge to first charge, not an automatic promotion, so early in his career shows how highly his abilities were rated.

As a member of the Presbytery of Edinburgh and Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale Nairn was at the centre of the ecclesiastical establishment;

these bodies were all the more important in the absence of any General Assembly. The presbytery records have not survived but the Canongate Kirk Session minutes mention that Nairn was Moderator on two occasions, in 1657 and in 1659.⁵⁶ Once again, this was an honour for one so young. The synod minutes have also survived to show that Nairn played his part in the activities of that body, notably in a long-running investigation into the conduct of two ministers, George Phin and Gideon Penman.⁵⁷

Many ministers were deeply involved in politics at this time but here Nairn observed rather than participated. In the printed *Records of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh* which cover the years 1652 to 1660 and show what may be termed the political activities of Nairn's colleagues, his name only appears once, when he subscribed, along with such luminaries as Robert Douglas and David Dickson, to a letter dated 7 June 1659 addressed to James Sharp, who was acting as a spokesman in London for the moderate Scottish presbyterian party in its negotiations with the government.⁵⁸ The letter expressed the ministers' confidence in their London agent: James Sharp became Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of Scotland after the Restoration.

Nairn would have had ample opportunity in the later 1650s to continue his friendship with Principal Robert Leighton. This would have been done privately, for although Leighton was regarded as an *ex officio* member of the Presbytery he never, according to Gilbert Burnet, attended.⁵⁹ Neither does Leighton's name appear in the index to the printed *Records of the Consultations*. It was also at some stage in his Canongate ministry, and certainly by 1661, that Nairn and Gilbert Burnet became closely acquainted.

How, and exactly when, the two met is not known: Osmund Airy in his *Dictionary of National Biography* entry for Burnet says that Nairn was the friend and correspondent of Burnet's father Robert (1592-1661), a lawyer who had undergone years of exclusion from public life, and even some years of exile, through his refusal to subscribe to either Covenant. However, I have not been able to trace any such correspondence. When Robert Burnet and his elder son, also Robert and also a lawyer, both died in 1661, pressure was put on Gilbert Burnet by his relatives to quit his divinity studies and take up law instead. Burnet stood firm and makes it clear in his autobiography that Nairn's example influenced him at this crucial time:

At this time I grew into an acquaintance and afterwards into a great friendship with Mr. Nairn, then Minister of the Abbey Church at Edinburgh. His preaching charmed me. ... He was a man of a warm but sweet temper, free and communicative and decently cheerful. He opened a new scene to me and put books of another sort in my hand than those I had formerly dealt in. Smith's Select Discourses and Dr. H. More's works were the first. He recommended also the reading of Plato and the Platonists and here I found a noble entertainment. ... he had made himself master of the Scriptures, and of the body of Divinity, so that he was well furnished with good materials, he had a great purity of expression, he was a man of a heavenly temper and just principles. He was more moderate in the Presbyterian way than I had yet known among them. ... He read the epistles and letters of great men and had a great collection of them, he said in these he saw their thoughts in an original simplicity and freedom; with him I spent many hours.⁶⁰

Here is Nairn the private man, the scholar, the bookman.

Burnet's tribute to Nairn was written most probably in the very early years of the eighteenth century, over forty years after the event and a quarter of a century after Nairn's death. Clearly, his memory was very dear to Burnet. In Burnet's most celebrated work, the *History of My Own Time*, also written long after Nairn's death, he gives further valuable insights into Nairn's character. Nairn was:

the politest man I ever knew bred in Scotland; he had formed clear and lively schemes of things, and was the most eloquent of all our preachers. He considered the pastoral function as a dedication of the whole man to God and his service. He read the moral philosophers much, and had wrought himself into their equal temper, as much as could consist with a great deal of fire that was in his own: but he turned it all to a melting devotion. He had a true notion of superstition, as a narrow-ness of soul, and a meanness of thought in religion. He studied to raise all that conversed with him to great notions of God, and to an universal charity. This made him pity the presbyterians, as men of low notions and ill tempers. He had indeed too much heat of imagination, which carried him to be very positive in some things, in which he afterwards changed his mind, that made him pass for an inconstant man. In a word, he was the brightest man I ever knew among all our Scottish divines.⁶¹

A philosopher Nairn may have been but he was no milk-sop. More will be said of Nairn's interest in Platonic thought in relation to books in his library in chapter five below: his affinities with that group of mid-seventeenth century Anglican divines dubbed by their contemporaries the Cambridge Platonists, two of whose leading members, Henry More and John Smith, were specifically mentioned by Burnet in connection with reading recommended by Nairn, will be examined particularly closely. However, these affinities are highly important to the understanding of Nairn's character and outlook as well as to his choice of reading. It is therefore appropriate here to quote Burnet's pen-picture of the greatest of the Cambridge Platonists, Benjamin Whichcote (1609-1683), because it bears several similarities to Burnet's portrait of Nairn as given in the above quotations.

He was much for liberty of conscience; and being disgusted with the dry systematical way of those times, he studied to raise those that conversed with him to a nobler set of thoughts, and to consider religion as a seed of Deiform nature, (to use one of his own phrases). In order to this, he set young students much on reading the ancient philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully and Plotin, and considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God both to elevate and

sweeten human nature; in which he was a great example, as well as a wise and kind instructor.⁶²

While Burnet was discovering the Cambridge Platonists with Nairn, Scotland was undergoing radical changes in church and state following the restoration of Charles II in mid-1660. These changes affected Nairn very deeply indeed. Charles began his rule by declaring his allegiance to the ecclesiastical *status quo* in Scotland: in a letter dated 10 August 1660 directed to the Revd Robert Douglas, but intended to be communicated to the whole Presbytery of Edinburgh, the King stated 'we do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the church of Scotland as it is settled by law, without violation'.⁶³ Nairn was a signatory to the letter in reply expressing satisfaction at this decision.⁶⁴ However, in March 1661 the Scottish parliament passed the Recissory Act abolishing all legislation since 1633 and thus 'the government of the church of Scotland as it is settled by law' became a very different thing from that of 1660. An episcopal system was now instituted and the first bishops appointed in London in December 1661. One of them was Sharp; another was Robert Leighton, who chose the least remunerative see of all, Dunblane. Leighton had to be re-ordained but at parish minister level the government very wisely decided, in May 1662, that all ministers admitted since 1649, and this of course included Nairn, should not be re-ordained, but merely seek presentation to the charge from the appropriate patron and receive collation (i.e. confirmation of that presentation) from the appropriate bishop before 20 September 1662.⁶⁵ It was also in May 1662 that the

Scottish parliament formally restored episcopacy; in the same month the new bishops were consecrated - in Nairn's own church of Holyroodhouse.

By this time Nairn had decided to leave his Edinburgh parish, and it was probably the foreseen changes in ecclesiastical government which prompted his decision. This action shows his character very well indeed. Episcopacy was very unpopular in the capital and Nairn most likely felt that if he accepted collation for the Canongate he might have been subjected to strong criticism from his parishioners, criticism which would have impeded him in his all-important pastoral duties. The Canongate parish seems to have been particularly opposed to the alterations in church government: the Bishop of Edinburgh in early October 1662 mentioned at a synod meeting how 'some who had intended to take collation from him were changed by the breath of the Canongate, this being an infectious air and the people turbulent and uncivil'.⁶⁶ Indeed, only one of Nairn's clerical colleagues in Edinburgh, Robert Lawrie, accepted collation and all the others thus had to leave their charges.⁶⁷

In accepting episcopacy Nairn would have gone against the 1638 and 1643 Covenants to which he had been obliged to subscribe as a student and as an ordinary parishioner.⁶⁸ On the other hand, Charles II, the legal head of state, declared, also in 1662, that the two Covenants were unlawful. Episcopacy was now the legally established form of church government, and the much admired Robert Leighton, once a presbyterian minister, was now a bishop. The notion of legal authority was highly important to Nairn: he was instilling the doctrine of passive obedience into Burnet at this time.⁶⁹

Nairn solved his dilemma by demitting office and accepting collation for another parish, Bolton in East Lothian, in the gift of Lord Lauderdale, the Scottish Secretary of State. This was a neat step, combining adherence to the legally constituted form of church government with a realisation of practical difficulties to be encountered in so doing if he stayed in Edinburgh. Nairn, it appears, did not particularly wish to live in close proximity to any bishop: according to the memoirs of the Revd John Brand (1669-1738), written long after Nairn's death, Nairn, who was a friend of Brand's mother, was at some point offered the charge of the Canongate again (it was vacant in 1673 and 1676) but refused, declaring 'he would never embrace their call, nor be so near the Bishops Wing as for some time he had been after the Restauration'.⁷⁰ For Nairn the devil of a bishop and the deep blue sea of parochial discontent had both best be avoided as much as possible.

The earliest surviving piece of evidence that Nairn was planning to leave Edinburgh comes in a letter of Lady Margaret Kennedy to Lauderdale written on 19 September 1661.

I must conclude my letter with a request that you would delay presenting any to your kirke of Bolton, till you let me know, for I feare ther will be one free shortly, on whose hand I dare hazard all my trust with you for his giving satisfaction, and not feare to forfeit.⁷¹

Lady Margaret, a daughter of the Earl of Cassilis, and who was later, c.1673, to be secretly married to Gilbert Burnet in a ceremony conducted by Lawrence Charteris, was at this time on terms of intimacy with Lauderdale close enough to provoke scandalous gossip. Nairn is not mentioned by name in this letter. However, a letter from Nairn himself to

Lauderdale, dated 3 March 1662, survives. It begins: 'I know not how to expresse, the sense I have of yo^r Lo^rdship's] undeserved favour to me', continues with mention of Lauderdale's 'protection' of Nairn and also of Nairn's 'duties', and ends by saying that the best way of repaying Lauderdale 'is to approve myselfe unto God in the service of the Gospell among that people, when I Shal be placed there'.⁷² This must be an allusion to Bolton.

Nairn received collation for Bolton on 16 October 1662, was formally admitted on 10 November, and was installed before 19 March 1663.⁷³ The country charge was a complete contrast to the Canongate but he did have kindred spirits in the ministers of neighbouring parishes: Lawrence Charteris had been at Bathans, or Yester, since 1654; and Patrick Scougal at Saltoun was another moderate. Gilbert Burnet in his *History of My Own Time* describes Charteris immediately after the portrait of Nairn, and stresses his gravity, his learning, his deep reading, especially 'how he delighted much in the mystics', and the asceticism which Nairn and he had in common: 'these were both single persons, and men of great sobriety, and lived on a constant low diet, which they valued more than severer fastings'.⁷⁴

Scougal was promoted to the see of Aberdeen in 1663 and left Saltoun the next year. Burnet was his successor but the succession was not a simple one. He relates in the original memoirs for his *History* how, at Christmas 1663, Nairn, Charteris and he were all at Lord Tweeddale's home at Yester when Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun, patron of the parish, came

to visit and decided, after Burnet had twice preached at Saltoun, that he wanted him as Scougal's successor:

When he promised it first to me, I was much surprised at it. It was one of the best benefices of those parts ... I had moved the earl of Tweeddale to propose Mr. Nairn to him, and then I resolved to have come in Mr. Nairn's living; but he declined the notion; at which Tweeddale was amazed, for there was not such another as Nairn to be found.⁷⁵

In the end Burnet accepted Fletcher's offer but only on condition that he delay entry until he had completed a planned European journey. This was granted. In 1663 Burnet had already travelled south, to England, and had met, amongst others, Sir Robert Moray, Robert Boyle, Richard Baxter, Henry More, Edward Stillingfleet, John Fell, Richard Allestree, John Wilkins and Thomas Willis. No doubt Burnet at the Christmas meeting at Yester, 'where I had much conversation with Mr. Charteris ... and Mr. Nairn',⁷⁶ would have told his fellow guests of his experiences. Nairn could thus obtain information on current scholarly developments and learn from Burnet just as Burnet had learnt from him in previous years. Nairn was most emphatically not cut off from current intellectual developments in his country living.

There is further information available on how highly Nairn was regarded at this time and how he was linked with Burnet, Charteris and Scougal: in his acid comments on Burnet printed in 1724, John Cockburn, Scougal's nephew, narrates how he was present, aged eleven, at a meeting at Saltoun manse of Burnet, Nairn, Charteris and Scougal. Cockburn told his uncle after the meeting that he thought Burnet a fool:

Sir, there were three of you there who all the country stands in awe of. I never saw any who did not observe a reverend distance from every one of you, and seemed afraid to speak in your presence. But he talked all the time...⁷⁷

Nairn was Moderator of the Presbytery of Haddington between 1663 and 1665,⁷⁸ and in 1664 he protested at a synod meeting about the deposition of a parish minister by the Bishop of Edinburgh. His protest was recorded by William Row, writing a dozen years later.

There was a protestation made ... by Mr James Nairn, with this alternative, that if the Bishop acted in that censure as the King's delegate or commissioner, without the votes of the Synod, he had nothing to say; but if he acted in it without the votes of the Synod, as a Lord Bishop, taking the whole power of jurisdiction to himself, then he protested against such usurpation. Mr Lawrence Charteris adhered to this protestation.⁷⁹

This episode shows how important legality was to Nairn and how he was not afraid to voice his opinions, as well as demonstrating once again his closeness to Charteris. His protest, however, appears to have been overruled.

That same year Perth considered asking Nairn to become its minister but nothing came of this.⁸⁰ However, the next year Nairn did move, to Wemyss in Fife where he had already spent a short time in the mid-1650s. He was admitted on 31 May 1665.⁸¹ The living was in the gift of the Town Council of Edinburgh⁸² but the Earl of Wemyss as local potentate had great influence, and the choice of his wife's former chaplain was no doubt his: it was Lord Wemyss's baillie whom the Kirk Session sent to Bolton in February 1665 to discuss the matter with Nairn.⁸³

Wemyss was a well-populated parish, and included the townships of West Wemyss, East Wemyss, Coaltown of Wemyss, Methil and Buckhaven. Industrial activity was expanding, with coalmines and salt panning fostered by Lord Wemyss who built a new harbour at Methil in the 1670s. Dutch, French and Scandinavian trading ships called to export coal, salt

and fish, and there was also a lively coastal trade between Fife ports and the capital.⁸⁴ With the profits of industry, Lord Wemyss extended and embellished his home in the 1670s, employing Italian plasterers on decorating ceilings.

Nairn would have had less difficulty visiting Edinburgh from Wemyss than from Bolton: as Professor T. C. Smout has said, in the seventeenth century 'the sea united and the land divided'.⁸⁵ There was a regular ferry service to Edinburgh from Burntisland, seven miles to the west of Wemyss. Nairn certainly took advantage of the relative proximity of Edinburgh: kirk session meetings had several times to be postponed because of his absence there.⁸⁶

Wemyss the place therefore had strong links with a wider world; Wemyss the man had considerable political experience and also had family links reaching to Charles II himself. As a young man he had supported the Covenanters and had commanded a wing at the Battle of Tippermuir in 1644. In 1648, according to Henry Guthrie, he 'haunted' Cromwell during the latter's visit to Edinburgh.⁸⁷ In July 1650 and February 1651, however, he entertained Charles II at Wemyss Castle, but later in the decade had been appointed by Cromwell Sheriff of Fife.⁸⁸ After 1660 he slipped easily, as did so many others, into holding office under the restored king, becoming a Privy Councillor in June 1661.⁸⁹ His covenanting past was so far forgotten that he was one of those who led the new bishops into parliament in May 1662.

Wemyss's third wife, whom he married in January 1653, was no mere adjunct to her husband. Born Lady Margaret Leslie, she was the sister of

the seventh Earl of Rothes (created Duke of Rothes in 1680) who as Lord High Treasurer and Lord High Chancellor wielded much power in Scotland in the first half of the 1660s. She also had been married twice previously and her surviving daughter by her second marriage, Countess of Buccleuch in her own right, was married at the age of twelve, in 1663, to the King's illegitimate son and became Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth. This was a *coup* of the first magnitude for Lady Wemyss. She was described as a 'witty active woman' by Robert Baillie and he also suggested that it was she who encouraged Monck in 1659 in his decision to march south and overthrow Richard Cromwell's government.⁹⁰ With her connections and interest in political events at the highest level, and her husband's duties as a peer and Privy Councillor, Nairn would have been very well informed indeed about current events.

The Earl and Countess appear to have thought highly of Nairn: the Earl noted various events in Nairn's life in his diary and the Countess went to the trouble of writing down Nairn's sermons. The volume containing them ends 'this was the last sermon my son david haired iuly 9 1671': David, Lord Elcho, died later that year aged sixteen, and it may well have been that Nairn had acted as his tutor in the same way that Burnet acted as tutor to the young Andrew and Henry Fletcher at Saltoun in the 1660s.⁹¹ Books also passed between Lord Wemyss and his parish minister. Five volumes bearing Lord Wemyss's signature appear in the Nairn bequest (189, 496, 670, 1254, 1536) and a sixth (10) bears the ownership inscription of Sir John Wemyss of Wemyss, Lord Wemyss's grandfather. Nairn for his part gave Lord Wemyss a manuscript of Lindsay

of Pitscottie's *History of Scotland* in 1670. All in all, the Earl and Countess's patronage enriched Nairn's life but he also served them well. As Archbishop Sharp put it after Nairn had left Wemyss, 'during his ability and strength his imployment ... was most usefull to the Church and to your noble family'.⁹²

Most of Nairn's professional duties at Wemyss would have been the routine clerical ones of that and other centuries: preaching, catechising, administering the sacraments, distributing poor relief, supervising the parish school and its schoolmaster,⁹³ and safeguarding the morals of his parishioners. Kirk sessions usually met once a week and Nairn would also have attended presbytery meetings once every three weeks or so and synod meetings twice a year. Unfortunately the presbytery records for this period have not survived, although it is known from synod records that he was moderator in 1676.⁹⁴ It is also recorded that Nairn was appointed to preach at the synod meeting of October 1666 but failed to do so through ill health. However, he was able to preach at the April 1667 meeting.⁹⁵ This is further evidence of how highly his preaching was esteemed.

At times national events impinged on Nairn's parish duties. Each 29 May he had to preach in celebration of Charles II's birthday and restoration. On Wednesday 7 June 1665 there was a solemn fast and humiliation in support of the King's forces fighting the Dutch, and there was another on 13 September, while on Thursday 13 July of the same year there was a thanksgiving sermon for the English fleet's victory over the enemy.⁹⁶ On the other hand, in April 1667 a Dutch fleet actually entered the Firth of Forth and killed a fisherman off Buckhaven.⁹⁷ Through such

events the whole parish would have been aware of the world beyond the parish boundary.

Nairn's most direct involvement with ecclesiastical events of national importance occurred in 1670 when he accepted the invitation of Robert Leighton, now co-adjutor to the vacant Archbishopric of Glasgow (he was refusing formal installation), to use his preaching skills for a short period in parishes in the south-west of Scotland, an attempt to woo by kindness that disturbed and disaffected region to the established church. Leighton's plan was fully endorsed by Lord Tweeddale, whose admiration for Nairn has already been mentioned, and who at this stage had some influence over Charles II's chief Scottish adviser Lauderdale. Two years previously Tweeddale had suggested to Lauderdale that Nairn, with others, be persuaded to move to Edinburgh parishes 'to out preach the fanatiks' but nothing came of the suggestion;⁹⁸ the 1670 exercise did however take place.

Nairn had five companions, including Charteris and Burnet, now Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University. The six ministers, nicknamed the 'bishop's evangelists', began their work in September 1670 and completed their task, in so far as that was possible, by late November.⁹⁹ Each was paid £25 sterling for his pains.¹⁰⁰ They were treated courteously by those to whom they preached but although Tweeddale reported to Sir Robert Moray on 27 September that people 'flock to hear them', Burnet himself in his *History of My Own Time* admitted that they came 'not in great crowds'.¹⁰¹ The exercise was in fact a total failure.

The next major events in Nairn's life occurred in 1672, a mixture of private and public business. At the kirk session meeting on 3 March 1672 Nairn announced he was going to France.¹⁰² His reason is not given but in fact he was going to Paris to have stones in his bladder removed. Why Nairn chose Paris for the operation is not known, but Dutch medical centres were probably rejected owing to the low ebb of Anglo-Dutch relations: war was declared between England and Holland on 17 March and between Scotland and Holland on 2 April. Nairn could not have chosen a worse time to travel. His ailment, however, was an extremely painful one and this possibly overrode fears of encountering Dutch privateers on the sea crossing. Nairn had certainly left Wemyss by 28 March and the operation, according to Lord Wemyss, took place on 16 May; the stone, according to the same source, was six inches in circumference.¹⁰³ Nairn returned to Wemyss, bringing some book purchases with him, in August.¹⁰⁴

In Nairn's absence, the government in London was taking steps which directly affected him. On 3 May Whitehall issued a *congé d'élire* under the Great Seal authorising the Dean and Chapter of Dunblane to elect a new bishop, such being necessary since Leighton's succumbing to pressure over his formal appointment as Archbishop of Glasgow in October 1671. A second document was sent to Dunblane the same day, also under the Great Seal, recommending that James Nairn be elected.¹⁰⁵ The Dean and Chapter obliged on 24 May, judging 'ourselves happie in yo^r Maties Nominating of such a deserving person who is well knowne to most of us to this see'.¹⁰⁶ This was followed on 6 July by the government granting the new bishop (not mentioned by name) as Dean of the Chapel Royal, for this dignity went

with the bishopric, the 'Rents duties and casualties of the said Chapell'.¹⁰⁷ No mention of this appointment is made in the Latin life, or in any of the standard biographies of Leighton, or in the minutes of the Synod of Dunblane,¹⁰⁸ or, for that matter, in any general history of the period.

Burnet does not mention the episode either, although he does record that Nairn had refused, as had Charteris and Burnet himself, to be considered for any of the four bishoprics which were vacant in 1671.

They [Nairn and Charteris] had an ill opinion of the court, and could not be brought to leave their retirement. Leighton was troubled at this: he said, if his friends left the whole load on him he must leave all to providence.¹⁰⁹

Burnet also says in general terms that Nairn and Charteris

were often moved to accept of bishoprics, but always refused them, both out of a true principle of humility and self-denial, and also because they could not engage in the methods by which things were carried on.¹¹⁰

The Latin life (p. 9) also says he always refused 'altiorum in Ecclesia gradum' (a higher position in the church) despite being pressed to accept, and one of the Latin poems in praise of Nairn by Ninian Paterson printed in his *Epigrammatum Libri Octo* of 1678 (Book 2, Poem 7, line 13) refers to 'mitra repulsa'.

Did Nairn at first accept the post before leaving for France and then change his mind, which Burnet has said was a characteristic trait? Were his reasons for declining connected with his health or political? *The offer of*
~~being offered~~ ^{to Nairn shows that} Dunblane ~~at all~~ Leighton and Tweeddale must have overcome Sharp's objections: Lord Kincardine, an able man of moderate views, wrote to Lauderdale on 7 December 1671 describing a conversation he had had

that very day with Sharp about candidates for the vacancies. Kincardine's suggestions included Nairn.

As I dropt out the presbiters he gave his little short characters to some of them of approbation; to the ArchDeacon of St. Andrews & Mr. Nairne and some, he disapproved.¹¹¹

In the event James Ramsay was appointed to the Bishopric of Dunblane in 1673.¹¹²

It is possible that Sharp remembered the protests of Nairn, Charteris and others in 1669 when they had criticised the Assertory Act which declared that Charles II had supreme authority over 'all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical'. They objected because they felt, as Burnet put it, that the act 'made the King our pope'.¹¹³ It may also be that Nairn remembered the Assertory Act when he decided to decline the bishopric. However, Nairn's basic loyalty to the head of state and his appointed officers was never in question and in 1675 he accepted a crown appointment when he was created a chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles II in Scotland.¹¹⁴ This was more ~~of~~ an honour than a post requiring duties, or one requiring adherence to the policies of an increasingly repressive government.

It is perhaps strange that Nairn was offered this post at this time: Leighton, his moderate policy in ruins, had retreated to England the previous year, and Tweeddale, having quarrelled with Lauderdale, had lost his political influence. Perhaps the government was making a token gesture it could well afford to make to appease the moderates. Another crown appointment accepted by Nairn the same year was a short term one,

membership of a visitation under the Great Seal to the University of St Andrews, a recognition of Nairn's interest in contemporary scholarship.¹¹⁵

Nairn retired from his ministry in April 1678 for health reasons.¹¹⁶ He had been failing for some time, according to the Latin life, and suffered from asthma and dropsy. Lord Wemyss blamed his 1672 operation for the latter.¹¹⁷ There were only five kirk session meetings at Wemyss in 1677 and the last recorded of Nairn's ministry was on 9 September of that year. Luckily, in this year and in 1678 he had the assistance of James Kirkwood (M.A. Edinburgh 1670) who in the 1690s and early 1700s was to be deeply involved in the promotion of libraries in Scotland, particularly the Highlands.

The Latin life states (p. 5) that after demitting office Nairn moved to Edinburgh to be nearer doctors, and took lodgings within the university. However, medical advice proved futile and his life quickly came to an end. The Latin life, with a wealth of unambiguous detail which would have been very welcome about other events in Nairn's life, reports that he died at 2p.m. on 18 July 1678. Lord Wemyss noted in his diary that Nairn was 'honorably buried on Sunday 21 after sermon'.¹¹⁸ Apart from his book bequests he left 6000 merks to be used for the support of two divinity students.

* * * * *

Such is the outline of Nairn's life. The Latin biography stresses his modesty and lack of worldly ambition, his quiet piety, kindness and great learning, his preaching skill and his pastoral gifts, and also his poor health, partly caused by immoderate study. Being a eulogy it contains no

criticism. Nairn was not cast for the role of martyr, accepting as he did the great changes in the Church and shunning any post which would identify himself too closely with any one dogmatic position. However, this course of action was not due to timidity, for although he would have seen and heard much between 1640 and 1660 to demonstrate the dangers of being in the public eye, he was not afraid, as Burnet has said, to speak his mind. His refusal to take a prominent part in church government whether presbyterian or episcopalian may well have had something to do with his ill-health, but pre-eminently it was due to a fundamentally-held belief that the most important object in his life was the development of his personal relationship with God, and that involvement in administrative affairs and in niceties of dogma would detract from this. Burnet said of Leighton: 'He raised in me a just sense of the great end of religion as a divine life in the soul that carried a man farre above forms or opinions.'¹⁹ Nairn's religious sentiments were undoubtedly identical to Leighton's.

The Latin life (p. 11) mentions how Nairn enjoyed most of all the letters and conversation of friends and how he was often heard to assert that friendship was a sacred thing. One friend mentioned at the outset of this biography was the minister of Liberton, Ninian Paterson, brother to Walter Paterson, Nairn's successor at Bolton and a fellow 'evangelist' of 1670. We only know of their acquaintance through three substantial Latin poems praising Nairn, referred to at the beginning of the first as 'dearest friend'. Would that we knew more of this and other friendships. There is little evidence extant of the closeness over a long period of Nairn's

relations with such people as Leighton, the Scougals or Burnet. Did Patrick Scougal correspond after removal to Aberdeen in 1664? Did Burnet let Nairn know of developments political, ecclesiastical and intellectual after his removal to England in 1674? Did Leighton correspond after he ~~was~~ retired to Sussex in the same year? Leighton very likely owned the 1678 catalogue of the Nairn bequest; did he also receive a book under Nairn's will?¹²⁰ Did Burnet, Paterson or Charteris?

For Charteris there is most evidence of prolonged friendship. He became Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh in 1675 and would have been on hand to administer to his dying friend in 1678. He is the most likely candidate for authorship of the Latin life. Burnet said of Charteris that he felt

it was a vain thing to dream of mending the world ... so that all a wise or good man ought to do was to possess his own mind with good notions and to infuse them in some few individuals that were prepared for them, or were capable of them; and that it was a fruitless labour to hope to propagate them to the world, or to do any good on great numbers.¹²¹

No doubt Nairn would have concurred. The formation of a large library was one way of infusing his own mind with good notions, and his book bequest to Edinburgh University Library was a method of infusing them into others who were prepared for them after his own death.

* * * * *

How was Nairn able to form such a large collection of books? Dr W. H. Makey has studied clerical salaries in mid-seventeenth century Scotland in great depth, publishing his conclusions in *The Church of the Covenants, 1637-1651* (Edinburgh, 1979). He states (p. 122) that 'the minister was

always one of the more prosperous members of his local community. He did not need more money; indeed he was incapable of spending the money he had.' In rural areas the 'minister was normally at least ten times as wealthy as the cottars and farm servants who made up the bulk of his congregation' (p. 117). In urban areas the minister was less isolated in his wealth but he was wealthy none the less. Dr Makey has suggested (p. 121) that a minister in the late 1650s in one of the city charges of Edinburgh, the height of the clerical profession at that time, may have earned fifteen or sixteen times a living wage and had the same spending power as a moderately prosperous merchant or highly skilled craftsman such as a goldsmith, or other professional men like lawyers or doctors. The city ministers received at least £1200 *per annum* in stipend, and added to this was the rent of their dwellings, estimated by Makey to be about £133. This standard of living was maintained throughout the Restoration period, years when there was little inflation, in marked contrast to the years 1630 to 1650.

When episcopacy was re-established after 1660 another layer of clerics was imposed above the ordinary ministers. The Archbishop of St Andrews had a princely £1150 sterling and all except five had incomes of £200 sterling or over. The least remunerative see was Dunblane, occupied by Leighton, with £105 sterling,¹²² but even that was a good clerical salary in Scottish terms (£1260), although it must be admitted that the bishops were expected to maintain a certain style of living which put a strain on the finances of some of the poorer sees if their incumbents refused to live as frugally as Leighton chose to do.¹²³ With these figures in mind,

and also remembering the other end of the scale, the rural minister who in the 1650s was falling below the 800 merks *per annum* minimum (£533 6s.8d.) laid down by Charles I in 1633,¹²⁴ Nairn's salary was as follows.

Exactly what he received in the second charge of the Canongate is not known, but his successor in the position received 1200 merks (£800) plus £80 annual house rent.¹²⁵ There is every reason to believe that Nairn's salary was identical, no augmentation being recorded at this period. His salary as first minister is known, and was partly in money and partly in victual, the latter being inflation proof, or index-linked in twentieth-century terms. Nairn was entitled to 900 merks (£600), plus four bolls and three and one fifteenth firlotts (four firlotts = one boll) of wheat, and sixty-nine bolls and four fifths of a firlott of barley.¹²⁶ In his predecessor's will recorded on 12 November 1656, one boll of barley was reckoned equal to £7, and one boll of wheat equalled £8.¹²⁷ Nairn's salary was therefore £1122 10s.8d., not far short of the stipend of an Edinburgh city charge. A manse was also provided, improvements and repairs to which were done at the parish's expense.¹²⁸

Nairn's salary at Bolton is not known but it would have been a lot less than his Canongate stipend. At Wemyss as parish minister he received £800 *per annum* and to this would have been added annually after 1675 the £20 sterling due to him as a royal chaplain.¹²⁹ This brought his total salary for the last, brief, stage in his career closer to what it was near its beginning. Even when it was below its maximum Nairn's salary was well over the statutory minimum, and there would have been a

considerable number of ministers in urban parishes who would have had comparable stipends.

It has been mentioned that Nairn's father was a wealthy man in the 1630s. However there is no evidence to suggest that the Revd James Nairn, a younger son, inherited any substantial sum. When he graduated in 1650 he was required to give a donation to Edinburgh University Library: the sum given was three dollars or £8 5s., a perfectly average sum for such a gift, and not one from a student with an obviously rich background.¹³⁰ Nairn may have inherited something but it should be stressed once more that his salary as a minister was perfectly adequate to sustain his book purchasing activities.

There is ample evidence throughout his adult life that Nairn never wanted for money. He is known to have lent money at interest in 1661: the sum involved was £664 2s.¹³¹ There was nothing extraordinary in this. When Nairn's predecessor in the Canongate, George Leslie, died, he was owed 2000 merks (£1333 6s.8d.) by the Earl of Rothes, £2000 by George Hume of Dirrington, and a total of 1330 merks (£886 13s.4d.) by three others.¹³² These sums do not include interest due. John Oswald, Minister of Prestonpans, was owed £3000 by Lord Lauderdale when he died in 1653.¹³³ As Dr Makey said, ministers had difficulty in spending money. Nairn continued throughout his adult life to demonstrate his possession of surplus cash, and not just in the formation of his library, or in his lifetime gifts to Lord Wemyss and Edinburgh University Library. He had a servant, was able to go to Paris in 1672, and in 1674 gifted a silver communion cup to the church of Wemyss.¹³⁴ It is also possible that he

contributed to the cost of building an addition to the manse.¹³⁵ The Latin life declares (p. 11) that Nairn was generous and liberal to all. Finally, he was able to bequeath £4000 to Edinburgh University. It can be safely assumed that where Nairn's book purchasing was concerned, he could afford whatever he wanted. What he spent on his library's formation, as will be seen in the next chapter, must have been considerable.

If the amounts of money available to Nairn were also available to many of his clerical colleagues, what was the general level of book collecting? One source of quantitative information is the valuation of books undertaken after decease, and so the testaments recorded between 1 January 1660 and 31 December 1689 by the Edinburgh Commissary Court have been examined relating to all men described in their testaments as having been at some point parish ministers or bishops.¹³⁶ In this work I am following the example of W. R. Foster who provided an appendix (pp. 407-14) in his 1963 Edinburgh University doctoral thesis, 'Ecclesiastical Administration in Scotland, 1600-1638', listing the valuations of moveables in inventories and the separate valuations of libraries where present of eighty-one ministers who died between 1600 and 1638 and whose testaments are recorded in the commissary records of Edinburgh, Dunblane and Brechin. Only Edinburgh has been chosen here: the ministers whose testaments were recorded by this Court would have included those nearest to Nairn in financial resources as well as those with whom Nairn was probably best acquainted. Of the fifty-two relevant testaments, which are tabulated at the end of this chapter, twenty-five (48%) make no mention of books as assets at death for valuation purposes, six (11.5%) mention books but

value them together with other moveable goods, another six value the deceased's books separately and under £100, and fifteen (28.85%) value books at £100 or over. These proportions, incidentally, bear some similarities to Foster's findings amongst testaments recorded between 1600 and 1638, although he does not record which testaments mention books valued as part of general moveables: of the eighty-one studied by him, forty-three (53%) record no books valued separately; seventeen (22%) record books valued at between £1 and £99; and twenty (just under 25%) record libraries valued at over £100. One hundred pounds would, however, have purchased more in 1638 than they would in 1660.

The crucial question here is, of course, how many books do these 1660-1685 valuations represent? It is unfortunate that testaments never give the number of volumes valued. However, there are two pieces of evidence from the St Andrews Commissary Court register which help in formulating an answer. First, in the testament of Archdeacon Moore of St Andrews, who died in 1684, his books are valued at £666 13s.4d.¹³⁷ His library, now in St Andrews University Library, numbered some 380 volumes, according to a 1744 inventory, which gives a valuation of £1 15s. per volume, although some volumes may have vanished between 1684 and 1744. Second, the library of the Revd Dr James Wemyss was sold in 1697 in 1223 lots: his testament had valued his books at £2,766 13s.4d., which gives a figure of just over £2 5s. per lot.¹³⁸ Some lots were in more than one volume. It is likely that these valuations would have been less than the actual amounts achieved when sold: in another case, fifty-five books, all except one being single volume items, belonging to the recently deceased Minister

of Dollar, Humphrey Galbraith, were purchased by friends, mainly fellow clerics, for a total of £152 13s.0d., or approximately £2 15s.6d. each, in 1684.¹³⁹ This latter average corresponds more closely to average book costs, a matter which will be investigated fully in the next chapter of this thesis. However, as it is valuations which are being analysed here, the size of a library valued at its owner's death at £100 probably contained in the region of sixty volumes. This is not a particularly great number but the volumes could have covered a range of subjects, as Humphrey Galbraith's did, including for example, Mercator's *Atlas*, Cotta's *The Triall of Witchcraft*, the classics, the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, and George Gillespie's *Aaron's Rod Blossoming*.

Only nine clergymen out of the sample of fifty-two probably owned around or over one hundred volumes, but of those, six probably had around or over two hundred volumes and four possessed over three hundred: John Colville, whose library was valued at 2,500 merks (£1666 13s.4d.); Thomas Hepburne, 800 merks (£533 6s.8d.); William Calderwood, £600; and Andrew Cant, 5,000 merks (£3333 6s.8d.). Cant's collection possibly exceeded even Nairn's collection in size. His salary at his death was well in excess of Nairn's, for he had 1,600 merks *per annum* (£1066 13s.4d.) as a minister of St Giles as well as 2,000 merks (£1333 6s.8d.) as Principal of Edinburgh University.¹⁴⁰ This means his salary was £200 sterling and he was thus equal in stipend to the Bishop of Brechin and above five other bishops.

There is in fact evidence to suggest that the valuation data as recorded in testaments paint too gloomy a picture of the number of clerical libraries. For one thing not all testaments have been recorded:

Nairn's own testament, for instance, has not survived. For testaments which are recorded we know from other evidence that deceased ministers whose wills say nothing of books owned collections. John Adamson, Principal of Edinburgh University for twenty-eight years (d.1651), and minister of Liberton in the early years of the century, left no books worth recording for valuation in his testament recorded on 22 July 1663, but one book owned by him found its way into Bishop Drummond of Brechin's collection and there must surely have been others owned by him. The Edinburgh testament of Dean William Annand (6 March 1690), who held various city charges between 1663 and his death in 1689, and who left a collection of at least 750 items, as has been mentioned in the last chapter, makes no mention whatsoever of his considerable library. In fact his will makes no mention at all of any household plenishings.

David Dickson, who enjoyed a salary of at least 2,000 merks (£1333 6s.8d.) as Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University and as Minister of the second charge of St Giles in the 1650s,¹⁴¹ had no books recorded in his testament for valuation purposes but the testament does take note, in the section concerning his bequests, of 'the remainder of my books', which assumes, first, that he owned books at his death and, second, that he had disposed of a considerable number of others.¹⁴² His son Alexander, who was Leighton's successor at Newbattle, who taught Hebrew at Edinburgh University after 1656, and who edited David Dickson's works for publication in 1664, would no doubt have found gifts of books from his father very useful. Other testaments are also silent about books for valuation purposes but mention them elsewhere: that of Patrick Cook of

Prestonpans is one such case. There is no mention of a library in the valuation but the testament authorises his widow to sell 'all my bookes' if she so desires. Similarly, Robert Alison of Glencorse's testament notes that books were to be left to a brother. Archibald Turner of Edinburgh did leave books worth valuing separately, at 400 merks (£266 13s.4d.), but these were 'by and attour what was given away be him befor his deceise'.¹⁴³ Some of the testaments, for example those of James Logan, John Pollock or Alexander Heriot, are very short and have no inventory whatsoever, which suggests that they are only partial records. This suspicion is particularly strong when a testament is recorded long after a death: Walter Whytefurde's will was recorded in 1684 but he died in England over thirty-five years before.

The testaments of seventeenth-century Edinburgh printers and booksellers show conclusively that many ministers were amongst their clients. For example, the recorded debtors in the testament (16 November 1646) of Robert Bryson (d.1645), included twenty-two ministers, and no less than twelve of the twenty-one debtors of Robert Crombie (d. 1645) were already ministers and a thirteenth, 'Mr Andro Cant, youngar', became one. Slightly later, ministers are also prominent in the testament of Andrew Wilson (29 December 1654) and, twenty-five years after that, familiar clerical names appear in the army of debtors, about two hundred individuals, mentioned in the testament (10 July 1679) of Archibald Hislop, names like Andrew Cant, who owed £635, William Annand, who owed £83 8s, Ninian Paterson who owed a paltry 2 merks, and even one 'James Nairne', who owed £9 6s. Cant was also one of the 129 debtors by account

mentioned in the testament (10 May 1683) of John Calderwood, who died in 1682: Cant owed him £45 15s. Thirty-seven other ministers also figure in this list.¹⁴⁴

It is therefore very likely that bigger clerical libraries were more prevalent than wills suggest. By how much it is impossible to judge accurately. Professor G. D. Henderson writing of Scottish theological learning in the seventeenth century declared 'the ordinary minister does not seem to have had many books beyond his Bible ... Books were dear. It was not easy to know what books were on the market, and not easy to arrange their transport when they were bought.'¹⁴⁵ Books could well be expensive, and the whole question of book costs in relation to other costs will be discussed in the next chapter, but as Dr Makey has discovered many 'ordinary' ministers had the wherewithal to buy them. It will also be demonstrated in the next chapter that it was easy in Edinburgh to purchase a wide range of books.

Although it must be admitted that most collections known to approach Nairn's library in size were either formed by bishops or university principals (and Nairn himself almost joined the ranks of the former), like Leighton of Dunblane and Glasgow, Scougal of Aberdeen, Cant of Edinburgh University, Wemyss of St Leonard's College, St Andrews, or Robert Baillie of Glasgow University (d.1662) who as first Professor of Divinity there in the 1650s had a salary of about £1,050, that is slightly less than Nairn at the same period, and who left a library valued on his death at £2,000,¹⁴⁶ ministers with salaries more comparable with Nairn, like Dean Annand of Edinburgh, Archdeacon Moore of St Andrews, James Lundie of

Edinburgh and John Gray of Aberlady were also purchasing considerable numbers of books.

These examples stray beyond the Edinburgh region and its testamentary evidence, 1660-1689, to show once more that Nairn was not an aberration amongst contemporary and near contemporary Scottish clerics in his book collecting. A considerable number of ordinary parish ministers must, like Nairn, have delighted in book collecting, even if their collecting was not so extensive, and spent at least some of the money they had to spare, after prior commitments such as their families or charity or subsidising the printing of their sermons or whatever, on additions to their libraries. The methods Nairn and his Scottish contemporaries used to acquire books will now be investigated.

Valuations of Ministerial Libraries According to the Edinburgh Register of Testaments, 1660-1689 (Scottish Record Office: CC/8/70-79).

Only men who had at some time been parish ministers or bishops are recorded here. The list excludes preachers, and ministers' wives, widows and other relatives. The parish or locality follows the name in brackets, then the valuation is given (categories A to C), and finally the date of the testament.

A) Libraries valued separately, under £100:

Thomas Vassie (Torphichen)	£60	8/9/1662
David Reddie (Ratho)	£60	2/12/1662
John Colville (Kirknewton)	£50	23/4/1664
Patrick Scheill (West-Kirk of Calder)	£9	7/8/1668
John Lothian (Livingston)	£40	9/12/1670
James Hamilton (Bo'ness)	50 mks	9/4/1685

B) Libraries valued at £100 or over:

John Knox (Carrington)	£100	18/7/1661
William Calderwood (Heriot)	200mks	15/1/1670
	and	29/4/1670
John Colville (Calder)	2,500 mks	17/6/1671
Thomas Hepburne (Oldhamstocks)	800 mks	25/7/1671
Andrew Barclay (Tranent)	£100	30/1/1672
James Reid (North Leith)	200 mks	4/10/1672
William Vernour (Livingston)	£100	7/3/1675
Robert Richardson (Mochrum)	£120	18/4/1677
James Calderwood (Humbie)	500 mks	13/2/1680
William Calderwood (Dalkeith)	£600	30/7/1680
	and	5/3/1685
Archibald Turner (Edinburgh)	400 mks	16/6/1681
	and	30/8/1684
Archibald Calderwood (Holyroodhouse)	550 mks	20/12/1681
	and	7/10/1685
William Walker (North Berwick)	400 mks	2/1/1683
	and	18/2/1687
William Meldrum (Edinburgh)	400 mks	20/2/1684
Andrew Cant (Edinburgh)	5,000 mks	17/7/1687

C) Libraries mentioned and included in the valuation of all moveables:

Mungo Law (Edinburgh)	£1000	3/10/1662
Robert Balcanquell (Tranent)	£200	8/11/1664
James Reid (St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh)	£200	21/4/1665
James Kid (Holyroodhouse)	£40	22/12/1674
William Keith (St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh)	£800	12/7/1676
George Trotter (Edinburgh)	£275 6s.	18/11/1687
	and	23/1/1690

D) No books mentioned in the testamentary inventory, or no inventory at all

James Robertson (Cranston)	25/6/1661
Robert Keith (Eglismauchane)	22/2/1662
Patrick Lindsay (Archbishop of Glasgow)	25/7/1662
David Dickson (Edinburgh)	20/3/1663
Henry Scrimgeour (Forgane)	7/5/1663
John Adamson (Liberton, Edinburgh)	22/7/1663
Patrick Waterson (Stronsay)	3/6/1664
Andro Stevenson (Dunbar)	18/10/1665
George Heriot (Kirkmahow)	9/6/1665
John Cleland (Stow)	26/1/1666
Thomas Mowbray (Corstorphine, Edinburgh)	26/9/1666
Joseph Provane (Morham)	26/6/1667
Robert Couper (Temple)	8/10/1668
William Ogston (Corstorphine, Edinburgh)	21/5/1669

Matthew Mowat (Kilmarnock)	1/2/1670
James Logan (Lasswade)	29/7/1670
Patrick Cook (Prestonpans)	15/3/1673
Robert Alison (Glencorse)	23/7/1674
	3/7/1675 and 18/8/1676
George Monypenny (Prestonpans)	15/3/1678
Oliver Colt (Inveresk)	23/4/1680
Andrew Bruce (Balmerino)	10/3/1682
John Pollock (Stenton)	1/4/1682
Walter Whytefurde (Bishop of Brechin)	7/8/1684
Hugh Hutcheson (Leswalt)	22/9/1684
Alexander Heriot (Cranston)	29/1/1687

Chapter 3. Method, Taste and Costs in the Book Collecting of Mairn and his Contemporaries: Aspects of the Scottish Book Market, 1660-1685

Excepting works on Scottish printers and printing, very little has been published on the Scottish book trade *of* the Restoration period. I have only been able to find one interpretative work devoted to the subject, an article which, like the bulk of works on Scottish printing, dates from over sixty years ago. This is by John Grant, and uses the surviving account books, stock inventories and business letters of Archibald Hislop, a bookseller and binder in Edinburgh who died in 1678.¹ Grant's work is an extremely valuable source of information; even more valuable are the documents themselves, preserved in the Scottish Record Office.² Grant was only able to print a very small part of the extant documents, although the extracts were very judiciously chosen: the originals in their bulk give a much better idea of the scale of Hislop's business activities.

Apart from Grant's study, the printed material on the subject is source material, awaiting interpretation. The two dictionaries of booksellers and printers by H. R. Plomer which cover Scotland in this period are in this category;³ there are also other sources such as extracts from the records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, the extracts from printers' and booksellers' wills mentioned in the last chapter, and the various accounts, family letters, diaries etc. published by the various Scottish historical clubs. Much more information remains unpublished,

awaiting the researcher, in manuscript repositories, notably the National Library of Scotland and the Scottish Record Office.

This chapter does not attempt a full study of the Scottish book trade in the period under ^{scrutiny}~~study~~, much needed though such a study is. Here, only those facets which particularly concerned Nairn, the centre of this thesis, and other contemporary book collectors are discussed, facets such as the retail outlets for books and other sources of supply, book prices and their relation to other costs, binding costs and trends in binding styles, means of awareness of what was on the market, trends in the origin of book supply, bibliophily, and the second-hand market. The book trade in Edinburgh will be studied to the virtual exclusion of any other Scottish centre: it was the capital and largest book market, and it was also where Nairn was born, grew up and died, as well as being the cultural focal point of his whole life.

I: Methods of Knowing what Books were Available for Purchase

Today, discovering what books of interest are available for purchase can be undertaken in many different ways. A friend might tell you of an item seen or heard of; or a work being read might refer to other titles of interest or indeed have a bibliography. Sometimes a book contains advertisements for other works produced by the same publisher, or other works by the same author. You can read newspapers or journals describing, reviewing or indexing recent works or works whose publication is imminent. There is a national bibliography of new British imprints produced weekly,

and equivalents for a number of other countries; there are also lists produced of current books in print in various countries, subjects and languages. You can go to a book shop, selling either new books or second-hand material, or both, and browse round the shelves. You can acquire, either directly or through a bookseller, publishers' catalogues which tell you what is offered for sale and what the prices are. Booksellers often issue their own catalogues of what is in stock or what can be obtained for a customer. You can go to libraries and study catalogues and scan shelves for interesting titles. You can scrutinise book auction catalogues, attend auctions themselves, or visit book fairs. Today, therefore, variety is the watchword.

In fact, the same was true of Scotland in the seventeenth century, for all the methods outlined above were available in some form to Nairn and his contemporaries, although all were not constantly available. Visiting book shops and dealing directly with booksellers, aspects of book acquisition which were constantly available in Edinburgh, will be dealt with in the next section of this chapter. Discussing books and items in their libraries with friends was also possible close at hand; but the remaining evidence shows quite clearly that Scots collectors, where printed guides to currently available material for purchase were concerned, that is catalogues, reviews, indexes and bibliographies, had largely to rely on the wide range of productions issued by the English book trade, and on continental counterparts, and that home produced products were much thinner on the ground.

For example, only one catalogue issued by a Scottish bookseller and designed to be issued separately from another printed work survives from the reign of Charles II.⁴ A substantial item, listing at least two and a quarter thousand titles in twenty-two folio pages, it was produced by the Edinburgh bookseller David Trench in 1667. Only one copy of this catalogue is known, preserved in Aberdeen University Library. Who its original owner was cannot be stated with certainty, but by 1684 it was owned by the Revd James Wallace of Kirkwall, Orkney, and it is highly likely that he acquired it when new. This is an interesting example both of a clergyman wanting to know the availability of books in the Scottish capital and also of the dissemination of catalogues far from the main centres of population, although it is not known whether Wallace acquired it in Edinburgh or in Orkney, or, indeed, elsewhere. This single survival suggests that other Edinburgh booksellers in the reign of Charles II may also have issued catalogues of material they had available for sale, even if none survives.

Graham Pollard in his magisterial *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge, 1965) has shown the wealth and variety of catalogues produced by London booksellers throughout the century, from advertisements in works referring to other titles either by the same author, which 'became quite a vogue in the 1650s' (p. 166), or to other titles issued by the same bookseller, through to separately issued broadside advertisements, retail catalogues of general stock, own imprints, imported stock, thematic stock or antiquarian stock, and even to union lists. Preeminent amongst the last-mentioned

were William London's *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England*, first issued in 1657 with another edition in 1658 and a supplement in 1660, and Robert Clavell's *A Catalogue of All the Books Printed in England Since the Dreadful Fire of London 1666 to the End of Michaelmas Term 1672*, first issued in 1673 and updated in 1675, 1680, and 1696, which was based on the material in the highly important quarterly term catalogues of new titles in print which began in 1668 and continued into the eighteenth century, ^{and} of which Clavell was a prime mover in its early years.⁶

Neither Nairn nor any other Scottish collector in the Restoration period studied for this thesis has left behind a record of having owned any of London's or Clavell's catalogues or any term catalogue. They may have had them, but catalogues of all kinds were, and still are, largely ephemeral, to be used for a specific purpose and then thrown away. However, there is other evidence of the term catalogues, at least, being available in Edinburgh in the Restoration period: the eminent London bookseller Richard Chiswell is known to have sent Archibald Hislop one in 1674 and no doubt Hislop would have been sent others by London booksellers with whom he was in close contact.⁷ However, Nairn did bequeath to Edinburgh University Library the *Catalogus Librorum ex Variis Europae Partibus Advectorum Per Robertum Scott Bibliopolam Londinensem* (London, 1674) (1377), the first of three very large catalogues issued by Scott, who has been described as 'the greatest bookseller of the period', and 'in his Time, the greatest Librarian in Europe'.⁸ Nairn's copy has some pencil marks against certain entries, but having investigated these against titles in Nairn's library I have come to the conclusion that they

must have been done later, after the volume was given to Edinburgh University Library.⁹ The 1691 inventory of Robert Leighton's library mentions six bundles of 'Sticht peeces', one of which contained amongst other things 'eleven Catalogues'.¹⁰ A catalogue of books for sale issued by the London bookseller Octavian Pulleyn in 1657 is still to be found at the Leighton Library, and probably emanates from the founding collection although it has no markings indubitably Leighton's.¹¹ It is clear that few of the eleven catalogues can have survived and so Leighton may have owned more items issued by London booksellers.¹²

Foreign booksellers and printers in the seventeenth-century also issued a great variety of catalogues of books for sale, also attempting union lists. These included the lists of books on offer at the Frankfurt book fairs.¹³ One of the most celebrated firms to issue retail catalogues was the great Dutch family of Elzevir, and examples certainly reached Scotland: Nairn for one owned the very extensive *Catalogus Librorum Qui in Bibliopolio Danielis Elzevirii Venales Extant* (Amsterdam, 1674) (324). As with the Scott catalogue mentioned above, certain entries in Nairn's copy have marks against them, but they appear to have no relation to titles in his library. If Leighton also owned an Elzevir catalogue it has not survived. However, a catalogue of theological works offered for sale by the Amsterdam bookseller and printer Jan Jansson in the mid-1650s is extant in the Leighton Library and it is very likely that Leighton was the purchaser. Gordon Willis has suggested that Leighton acquired the item when travelling abroad.¹⁵ He may well have done so, but travelling abroad

was not essential for Scots to acquire foreign booksellers' catalogues, any more than travel to England was necessary to acquire London catalogues.

The circulation of foreign catalogues in Scotland is shown vividly in two letters preserved in the Yester Papers in the National Library of Scotland. Directed to Lord Tweeddale, they were written in Culross in Fife on 5 and 13 May by James Fall, who was to be Principal of Glasgow University between 1684 and 1689 and later still first editor of Robert Leighton's manuscripts.¹⁶ The first accompanied and discussed items in a catalogue or list, presumably printed, of new books issued by the Elzevirs of Amsterdam which Fall had received 'from Mon^r Elzeviers wife in his absence' which Fall was now sending to Tweeddale. Fall mentions that 'These bookes mentioned in this inclosed are only some new pieces printed since my last from him, which he ordinarily sends me an account of when he writes'.¹⁷ Clearly, therefore, Fall and the Dutch publisher were in frequent correspondence. In this letter Fall also mentions another catalogue being sent from Elzevir to Tweeddale, and his second letter, of 13 May, discusses items and prices either in this, or possibly in a third, catalogue, of second-hand items, that Fall had received 'yesternight' from Tweeddale.

Nairn left to Edinburgh University Library no catalogue associated with the annual Frankfurt booksales, but Edinburgh University Library bought an issue in 1659, no doubt acquired to provide university staff with up-to-date information ^{about} what was being produced throughout Europe.¹⁸ Another catalogue associated with the Frankfurt fair survives in the Leighton Library, a London reprint dating from 1620, and this was

very likely owned by Robert Leighton, although from its age and the fact that there are marks against the titles of several medical works, it was possibly inherited from his father, Alexander Leighton.¹⁹

The first auction in Edinburgh appears to have taken place in 1686, too late for Nairn to be able to benefit from this new method of book acquisition within Scotland.²⁰ If either he or his clerical colleagues benefited from the London auctions held from 1676 or the continental auctions held throughout the century,²¹ then neither their participation nor their general interest is recorded in catalogues of which details or copies have survived from their libraries. However, at least one Dutch auction catalogue, dated 1683, acquired by the fledgling Advocates Library has been preserved from the pre-1690 period: it was not only acquired to show what material was coming up for sale; notes in the copy record that the Library actually purchased over two hundred and sixty items at the auction.²²

It was in the second half of the seventeenth century that review journals began to be of importance in the dissemination of information about new titles in Europe, and their circulation did not exclude Scotland. Nairn owned a Latin translation printed at Leipzig in 1667 of the first two years' issues, 1665-1666, of the French language review journal, originally printed in Amsterdam, the *Journal des Sçavans* (1110). Edinburgh University Library owned before 1690, independently of Nairn's bequest, a run of early volumes, and the Faculty of Advocates in 1688 requested for its library issues of the *Journal* and other review journals as they appeared.²³ Scottish interest in contemporary continental

publications was by this date so far advanced that John Cockburn, Patrick Scougal's nephew, who has already been encountered in connection with the visit of Nairn and Gilbert Burnet to Saltoun in 1664, felt it a viable proposition to print in Edinburgh a journal reviewing such material. This was the *Bibliotheca Universalis, or, an Historical Accompt of Books and Transactions of the Learned World*, issued in January 1688. It was intended as a monthly but fell foul of the authorities and only one issue ever appeared. However, that it appeared at all is the important point: educated Scots of the later seventeenth century felt themselves very much to be part of the European Republic of Letters. It is also important to note that Cockburn was a clergyman, being at this time Minister of Ormiston.

Review journals inform you of what new works have been printed, and those works are usually available for purchase. The entries in a bibliography are commonly more exhaustive, covering old works as well as new and including items not immediately available for purchase, although they may appear on the second-hand market or be found in a library. A considerable number of printed bibliographies were issued before 1700, the earliest being Johannes Trithem's *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, first printed in Basle in 1494. This printing was owned by the Scougals. Leighton owned a Cologne, 1531, edition of this work, which includes material not exclusively written by ecclesiastics; Nairn owned the second edition issued in Paris in 1512 (1530). This particular copy had been in Scotland for quite some time, as the signatures of Charles Lumsden, a seventeenth-century Minister of Duddingston, and two collectors with the

surname Oliphant on the volume testify.²⁴ A later work with the same title, by Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), described by Archer Taylor as 'probably the most widely used bibliography of its time'²⁵ Nairn also owned, in a Paris 1658 edition (162). Leighton, the Scougals and William Annand likewise owned editions, while Edinburgh University Library acquired the Cologne, 1631, edition in 1637. Nairn owned a third work with the same title, by the Jesuit Philippe Labbé (1607-1667), in its first edition, Paris, 1660 (897). Exclusively of Jesuit writings was a bibliography produced by Pedro de Ribadeneira: Nairn owned an Antwerp, 1613, edition (1288) and Edinburgh University Library acquired a 1609 edition in 1637.

Other theological bibliographies in Nairn's collection were William Crowe's *Elenchus Scriptorum in Sacram Scripturam tam Graecorum, quam Latinorum* (London, 1672) (434) and Gisbert Voet's *Exercitia et Bibliotheca Studiosi Theologiae* (Utrecht, 1644) (1573), another copy of which was acquired in 1656 by Edinburgh University Library. William Moore owned Crowe's *The Catalogue of our English Writers on the Old and New Testaments* (London, 1673).

A more general bibliography in Nairn's library was that of Bishop John Bale, his catalogue of the writings of English writers, first issued in 1548, which Nairn owned in an expanded edition printed in Basle in 1557-59 (113). Edinburgh University Library acquired a copy of the same edition in 1633. James Lundie also owned an edition. Even more general was Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*, first issued in 1545. The Scougals owned this edition, and Nairn owned a slightly imperfect copy of

the much expanded 1574 edition, edited by Josias Simler (1411). Leighton owned the 1583 edition, another copy of which was given to Edinburgh University Library by Robert Lumsden, the compiler of its own first catalogue, as his graduation gift in 1620. Lumsden's father Charles and his brother, also Charles, successively ministers of Duddingston, were both book collectors: the ownership by one or both of them of the copy of the Tritheim bibliography later owned by Nairn has been mentioned above.

All the above examples show clearly that bibliographical information on many subjects was obtainable in seventeenth-century Scotland. Moreover, the above list does not exhaust Scottish holdings of bibliographies. James Wemyss even owned a bibliography of bibliographies, a Leipzig, 1682, edition of Philippe Labbé's *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*. Nairn owned both the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and the *Index Expurgatorius*, both very useful guides to what a Protestant should read (289, 845): Edinburgh University Library in the seventeenth century had at least one other copy, a 1611 edition incorporating both indices, given in 1613. Leighton also had editions of both issued in 1667 and James Wemyss and James Lundie both possessed editions of the *Index Expurgatorius*.

Less controversial was Georg Draud's comprehensive bibliography entitled *Bibliotheca Classica* (Frankfurt, 1625), based on the Frankfurt fair lists, which Nairn also owned: his copy (528) has disappeared but Edinburgh University Library still has another copy acquired with money donated in 1641. Finally, returning to bibliographies with a narrower subject range, Nairn owned a copy of William Lilly's *Christian Astrology*

(London, 1647) which has a bibliographical appendix of astrological writings (943). Edinburgh University Library, by the time it acquired Nairn's copy, already owned another copy. The same was the case with Joannes Jonsius's *De Scriptoribus Historiae Philosophicae* (Frankfurt, 1659) (848) which Edinburgh University Library bought seventeen years before it fell heir to Nairn's copy.

As with review journals, a Scotsman contemporary with Nairn felt it desirable to add to the lists of bibliographies by compiling around 1700, at the instigation, it seems, of Sir Robert Sibbald, a catalogue of the writings of Scottish theologians. As with the *Bibliotheca Universalis* it was compiled by a clergyman, and one very well known to Nairn, Lawrence Charteris. It was not published until 1833,²⁶ but the spirit behind it shows once again the Scottish urge to contribute to the distribution of knowledge of what had appeared in print.

The use of library catalogues as a source of information / ^{about} what has been printed on a topic or by a particular author has yet to be discussed.²⁷ The greatest British library in the seventeenth century to print a catalogue of its entire collection of printed books was the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which did so on three occasions, in 1605, 1620, and 1674. Scotsmen were not slow to realise the value of having these catalogues in their collections as reference tools; that use of the Bodleian Library copies themselves was the prime object of acquiring the catalogues is highly unlikely. Drummond of Hawthornden owned the 1605 catalogue, arranged by subject with an author index, and Edinburgh University Library was given a copy in 1627 of the 1620 catalogue,

arranged by author. Edinburgh University Library purchased another copy with money ^{donated} in 1641, and this latter had bound in with it the subject index and addenda, both printed in 1635. The Scougals owned two copies of the 1620 catalogue, one at least probably ^{containing} ~~owning~~ the 1635 addenda.²⁸ Nairn owned the much expanded 1674 edition, arranged by author (323). This copy bears a very few marks against entries, but as with the Elzevir and Scott catalogues already mentioned, they bear no relation to titles in Nairn's library.²⁹

In the area of institutional library catalogues issued in the seventeenth century Edinburgh for once is able to hold its head high. Edinburgh University Library produced a printed catalogue of the Drummond of Hawthornden gift in 1627: no other British institutional library appears to have done this for a donation in the seventeenth century. Other more minor donations on acquisition were listed on printed single sheets, and the catalogue of Nairn's own library was to crown the series. No Scottish clerical collection studied possessed the Drummond catalogue or any of the minor catalogues (or at least records of their ownership have not survived) but Leighton very likely owned a copy of the Nairn catalogue, although by this time he was living outside Scotland, and John Lauder acquired a copy on issue. A copy is also in the extant part of the library of John Gray of Haddington, the only catalogue owned by him.³⁰ This dissemination of bibliographical information ^{about} the Nairn collection through a printed catalogue is an important extension of the gift itself.

I have not been able to find the printed catalogues of any continental libraries in any of the Scottish collections studied, but the presence of

all the other above mentioned bibliographies and catalogues, British and continental, show that Scotsmen were able and willing to tap the varied printed tools available to help them build up their collections as well as to give them understanding of the vast and ever-growing range of knowledge contained in the enormous output of the European presses since the time of Gutenberg. On occasion they added to the knowledge themselves by producing examples of their own.

II: Methods of Acquiring Books

It must be very seldom indeed that a book-collector has never to purchase a book but can rely solely on donation. Sooner or later, and most often sooner, a collector will have to purchase a desired item. In this, the seventeenth century was no different from the twentieth. Purchase could be through private channels: as has been mentioned in the previous chapter, a number of the books of Humphrey Galbraith, Minister of Dollar, were purchased by friends directly from his estate after his death in 1684; and John Lauder of Fountainhall and his acquaintances were augmenting their collections in the late 1660s through bartering books on exchange.³¹ However, the most frequent way of acquiring an item, then as now, was by paying money for it at a book shop. Edinburgh ~~was~~ was well served by booksellers. Plomer lists twenty-five individuals designated as booksellers or stationers, and nine more described as printers and booksellers, active in Edinburgh at some time between 1640 and 1680. He

also lists nineteen others who are described solely as printers, but some if not all no doubt also acted as retail outlets.

We know that some of the Edinburgh businesses had an extensive clientèle from the impressive lists of debtors mentioned in booksellers' testaments. Robert Bryson, printer and bookseller, was owed, according to his 1646 testament, £2,988 13s.4d. by over fifty individuals. Although a few debtors were fellow booksellers and other merchants, the bulk were private customers, who had no doubt purchased personal reading material from him. Andrew Wilson's 1654 testament mentions debts of £4,460 14s. owed by a range of individuals, from the Earls of Wemyss, Caithness, Winton, Hartfell and Home to parish ministers, academics and other graduates based as far afield as Glasgow and Aberdeen. Three decades later, in 1682, John Calderwood died being owed £5,037 8s.10d. Apart from individuals who had been lent money by Calderwood, 129 are mentioned as debtors 'by account'. These range from earls and bishops to ministers, lawyers, apothecaries and schoolmasters and university regents in Fife as well as in Edinburgh.³² Most impressive of all is the army of around two hundred debtors, equal in social and professional range to those in Calderwood's list, mentioned in the 1679 testament of Archibald Hislop. He was owed *in toto* £9,977 5s.7d.³³

Inventories in the testaments of Edinburgh booksellers during this period unfortunately do not list the individual items held in stock apart from the testaments of those who were also printers: these printing activities are chronicled in the thousands of copies of testaments, psalm books, rudimentary grammars, catechisms, commentaries and other popular

works produced in the printing houses of the Scottish capital. However, Archibald Hislop has left behind him records which give fascinating details of the imported titles which he handled, far more varied than those produced by Edinburgh printers. A large invoice dated 20 May 1668 for books bought at London from the bookseller Simon Miller includes *The French Pastry-Cooke* (London, 1656), Henry Tubbe's *Meditations* (London, 1659), Robert Recorde's *The Urinal of Physick* (London, 1651 or 1665), Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe: a Most Sweet and Pleasant Pastorall Romance* (London, 1657), William Herbert's *Child-Bearing Woman* (London, 1648), Sir Balthasar Gerbier's *Counsel and Advice to All Builders* (London, 1663), William Ramesay's *De Venenis, or, a Discourse of Poysons* (London, 1663), *Wits Recreations* (London, 1663), *Merry Drollery* (London, 1661), Felix Wuertz's *An Experimental Treatise of Surgerie* (London, 1656), Archbishop Ussher's *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (London, 1650-54), Jeremy Taylor's *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (London, 1650 or later editions), and John Ogilby's translation of Vergil's works (London, 1654 or 1668). A June 1677 London invoice includes Henry Bond's *The Longitude Found* (London, 1676), William Wycherly's very recently printed play *The Plain Dealer* (London, 1677), Thomas Shadwell's *The Virtuoso* (London, 1676), and John Rushforth's *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters in Law...*, volume one (London, 1659).³⁴

The above are taken from those invoices which have been printed; the unpublished invoices in the Scottish Record Office list thousands more titles imported from London by Hislop for his Scottish customers in the 1660s and 1670s. Their variety is great, from Quevedo to Evelyn,

Shakespeare to Kenelm Digby, and his other stock catalogues give further evidence of the great range of books passing through his hands. For instance, a glance at the 'C' section of his author/title catalogue shows Catullus along with 'Chymicall physick', Chrysostom with Culpeper's *Midwife*, Corvinus's *Elementa Iuris Civilis* with *Cambridge Jests, or Witty Alarums* (London, 1674) and Chaucer's *Ghoast ... Containing Twelve Pleasant Fables of Ovid*.³⁵

It is very regrettable that no other Edinburgh bookseller has left similar records. However, notes kept by purchasers provide further evidence to show that in Edinburgh there was a wide range of books available from a wide range of sources. Andrew Hay of Craignethan's modest purchases in the late 1650s certainly tended to be, although were not wholly, home produced - for example, a catechism, a newspaper, a confession of faith, a Bible, James Durham's *The Dying Man's Testament ... or, a Treatise Concerning Scandal* (Edinburgh, 1659), David Fergusson's *Nine Hundred and Forty Scottish Proverbs* (Edinburgh, 1659)³⁶ - but John Lauder at the end of the next decade was far more extensive and cosmopolitan in his book collecting. His 'Catalogue of My Books I Bought Since 1667', which has been printed, does not always give the exact source of supply but an early purchase, Joseph Mascardus's *Conclusiones Probatium* (Frankfurt, 1661), was acquired from the Edinburgh bookseller Thomas Brown; and Brown is mentioned by Lauder again as the source of supply of further books in August and September 1673. This consignment included Henry Stubbe's *A Justification of the Present War* (London, 1672 or 1673). Five books came from the same source in 1677, one being Joseph Glanvill's

Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion (London, 1676).³⁷

From John Nicol, 'Janitor of the Colledge', Lauder purchased '5 or six ... books' in May 1671 and six more on 18 December 1677, including Jean Bodin's *De Magorum Daemonomania* (various editions possible).³⁸ From the titles and the prices paid, a facet of book collecting which will be discussed later in this chapter, and from the source from which they were purchased, it is highly likely that they were all second-hand items. Nicol must have supplemented his university earnings with part-time bookselling: the University certainly sent him to London in 1659 to bring back books for the University Library.³⁹ On 1 November 1675, Lauder bought twenty-five books, mainly legal items, from William Broun, 'a dragist' (druggist), and five days later purchased nine more.⁴⁰ Once more, from the prices paid, it is highly likely that these were all second-hand items, but Broun seems to have dealt in new books too: on 15 March 1678 Archibald Hislop acquired new books imported by Broun from Amsterdam. Not only, therefore, did Edinburgh book collectors have the services in the capital of men known primarily as booksellers and printers to supply their needs, they were also able to acquire books from other tradesmen whose principal occupations lay elsewhere.

The testaments of Edinburgh booksellers show that they had links with their counterparts in other Scottish towns, notably St. Andrews and Glasgow, as well as serving individual collectors living far from the capital, but by far the ^rstrongest professional links Edinburgh booksellers had were undoubtedly with the London stationers. Hislop's links with

London have been noted already: not only are there over seventy extant invoices from London sources of supply dated between 1668 and 1678, listing thousands of items imported, there is also business correspondence from London booksellers outlining the success, or otherwise, of their search for certain titles requested by Hislop for his Scottish clients. They also mention books sent speculatively both to Hislop and other Edinburgh booksellers. Hislop used several London stationers, some of them very prominent in the trade, as agents: the great Robert Scott, Richard Royston, Dorman Newman, Richard Chiswell, Richard Clark, Thomas Cockerill, Robert Boulter. There is no doubt that there was a constant flow of books coming north throughout the Restoration period from that infinitely larger producer and emporium of books.

It was not only Edinburgh booksellers who had links with the London stationers. Individual and corporate Scottish collectors had direct contact with the London trade. Nairn's links are not known: the Latin life (p. 12) merely says he bought his books at great cost 'hinc inde' (here and there). However, the presence of the 1674 Scott catalogue has been already noted. Nairn, if he wanted to purchase items from it, may have dealt with Scott through an Edinburgh bookseller, or he may have contacted Scott himself, for direct purchase by other Scots from London booksellers is well documented: Lord Yester dealt with at least three London booksellers and binders in the 1670s and 1680s - John Herringman, Andrew Forrester and Robert Littlebury - and a considerable number of books were sent up to him in Scotland.⁴¹ Robert Leighton visited London frequently throughout his long life: in the late 1650s as Principal of

Edinburgh University he went south every year during the long vacation,⁴² and in 1658 he purchased books in London on the university's behalf. The next year, as has already been mentioned, Nicol the janitor was used to bring books from London for Edinburgh University Library. Thirty-six years later it was the librarian himself who was in London to purchase books for Edinburgh University Library.⁴³ The Scottish laird Alexander Brodie of Brodie bought history books when visiting London in October 1661, his purchases including Tacitus, Lucan, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Guicciardini and Raleigh; and Colin Lauder bought four books for his brother John in London in May 1676.⁴⁴

Undoubtedly, therefore, Scots found London bookshops attractive both for greater choice and keener prices, even if Leighton, no doubt half jocularly, declared to his friend James Aird in an undated letter when the latter was about to visit the English capital: 'beware of ye booksellers shops least they pick y^r pockets'.⁴⁵ Robert Baillie of Glasgow University said much the same thing in 1644 when in London, declaring, 'the most trustie of the stationers here are very rogues'.⁴⁶ However this did not seem to deter him in his use of London as a source of supply. He was in London for long periods in the 1640s and his voluminous correspondence shows him buying books there both on his own behalf and on behalf of his friends in Glasgow and for the University itself.⁴⁷ Even earlier, in 1639, he was requesting, in his usual forceful way, that Alexander Cunningham, when visiting London, should search for books on his behalf: 'My catalogue of Brownist's books search at London, where they may be found, at what pryce, and what more of that kind, that I may know what of them

to send for'. Cunningham was also to search for editions of the Church Fathers and for historical works: 'send me the pryces, when ye have tryed in two or three diverse shoppes'.⁴⁹ Two years previously Baillie had even suggested to his cousin William Spang, resident in Holland, that the latter should obtain desired items for him in London:

I have a mind to have some books from London, if yow had any acquaintance there that would tak paines to buy and send them to yow. I think I might have them so als soon and als safe, as any other way.⁵⁰

The visitors and long-distance Scottish users of the London bookshops of the post-1660 period were therefore merely continuing a tradition of patronage, a tradition which dispels the myth of Scottish cultural isolation. Moreover, it should be remembered that London acted as a source of books from all over Europe, as the title and contents of the Robert Scott catalogue in Nairn's collection demonstrates. A specific instance of Scots buying European books through London occurred in 1680: in the Yester Papers in the National Library of Scotland there is a letter from the London bookseller Robert Littlebury, dated 5 June, which mentions titles acquired by Littlebury's son on a recent business trip to Paris.⁵¹ However, Scottish book purchasers of foreign material did not limit themselves to the resources of Edinburgh and London stationers; they also bought direct from the continent.

Paris, where Littlebury was active in 1680, was always to Scottish collectors an attractive centre for acquiring books. Lord Lothian, when in the city in 1643, bought a considerable number using the resident Scottish merchant, John Clerk, as his supplier.⁵² The young John Lauder when in

the city in the mid-1660s also took the opportunity to acquire books.⁵² Nairn, whose precise methods of book acquisition are so madd^{en}lingly uncertain, definitely used his trip to Paris in 1672 to purchase items for his library as well as to have the operation to excise the stones in his bladder.⁵³ Scots did not have to go to the French capital in person: Lord Lothian was still acquiring books from Paris in 1663, using an agent, James Mowat; and a box of books was sent to Edinburgh University Library direct from Paris in 1677.⁵⁴

More important than Paris to Scotsmen as a source of supply was Holland, with which Scotland had many close links in religion as well as in trade. Robert Baillie relentlessly used his cousin, William Spang, Minister of the Scottish congregation at Campvere (1630-1652) and Middleburg (1652-1664), as a source of supply: the second letter, dated 29 January 1637, in Baillie's printed correspondence was to Spang and included requests for books; Baillie's last recorded letter, dated 12 May 1662, was also to Spang and also mentioned books. Over the intervening twenty-five years Baillie deluged Spang with requests for books of all sorts, from titles by Descartes to news journals. The items were both for himself and for his university. Baillie wanted Spang to make good use of a method of book acquisition not yet available in Great Britain, the auction: he wrote to Spang on 13 October 1647, that he hoped 'yow might provide, not only yourselffe, but your friends, with store of good and cheap books' at 'the auctions of schollars books'.⁵⁵ Thirty-six years later, as already mentioned, the Advocates Library was doing just that when it purchased a considerable number of books at the auction of the

library of the Dutch cleric Cornelius van der Vliet on 7 September 1683, using an agent on the spot.⁵⁶

Lord Lothian in 1650 used the Scottish merchant Thomas Cunningham, resident at Campvere, to investigate the availability of books and to purchase items for him;⁵⁷ and a study of the business activities of Andrew Russell, a Scottish merchant resident in Rotterdam from the 1670s to the 1690s, has found that 'often he was asked for drugs and books'.⁵⁸ In 1696, Edinburgh University sent their librarian in person to Holland.⁵⁹ There are a few invoices from the years 1676 to 1678 from the great Dutch firm of Leers in the Hislop papers in the Scottish Record Office, although their numbers cannot compare with the London invoices. Hislop's link in 1678 with Amsterdam via the Edinburgh druggist William Broun has already been mentioned.

The presence of the Elzevir catalogue in Nairn's library has been noted in section one of this chapter, as have the Jansson catalogue in Leighton's library and the May 1678 letters from James Fall to Lord Tweeddale discussing Elzevir catalogues. In the first of these letters Fall also advises Tweeddale to contact Elzevir or 'one Leers a great bookseller in Rotterdam' in order to find out printing details of Spinoza's *Ethica*; and in the second letter Fall suggests that Tweeddale may find it useful to appoint an agent in Holland to whom he could send lists of *desiderata* and who could attend auctions on the Earl's behalf. An acquaintance of Fall, a Mr Robert Cunningham ('Cunninghame'), employed for such a purpose a namesake who was studying law in Utrecht and was 'both discreet and intelligent'.⁶⁰ This was very likely Alexander Cunningham of

Block, who was to act as tutor to Lord George Douglas on the Grand Tour in the later 1680s, as Fall himself was to do for Lord George's eldest brother Lord Drumlanrig, 1680-1683. After 1700, Cunningham acted as agent in Holland for the great bibliophile Lord Sunderland.⁶¹ Fall also made interesting comments about the prices in the Dutch catalogue, which incidentally also further demonstrates the attractions of Paris:

I told your Lo[rds]hip I could not expect to have them at so easy rates as either Salton [Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun] or I had most of them at paris, because we went about from place to place and had most of what we bought from second hands.

Clearly, therefore, in the seventeenth-century, as today, buying in person was usually a cheaper method than purchasing through catalogues.

Scots took advantage of extended continental visits to augment their collections. Lord Yester acquired books when on the Grand Tour in the mid-1670s and Lord George Douglas followed suit on his Grand Tour in the late 1680s and early 1690s.⁶² Nor was it only book-collecting Scottish aristocrats and gentry who travelled abroad: half a century before Douglas, Robert Leighton spent a considerable time on the continent, and given his zeal for collecting he no doubt also used the opportunity to augment his library.

All in all, therefore, Scots were able to tap in various ways - through use of agents, booksellers and friends, or use of catalogues, or personal visits - the huge book markets which existed beyond their own country but certainly not beyond their reach.

III: *The Binding of Books*

It is only since the early nineteenth century that books have been issued in publisher's bindings; that is, the books are offered for sale from the publisher to the book trade with their bindings (or rather casings) already *in situ* as an integral part of the item. Usually, the bindings of all the copies, or at least large groups of the copies, are identical. Before the beginning of that century the binding and its contents were regarded as strictly separate, although naturally it was realised that a binding would have to be put on the item at some early stage, unless a very thin or ephemeral item. This could be done by the printer himself, especially if he was also a retail outlet, a common occurrence, or by another bookseller. In either case, the book could be bound in a business owned by the printer or bookseller, or the work could be contracted out to a separate binding firm. This could be done speculatively, before a client had materialised, or could be executed after the book had been sold, in which case the binding could be carried out according to the customer's individual specifications. The net result was that ^{different copies from the same edition} ~~the same book~~ could end up in a great variety of different bindings, using a variety of materials, and with a variety of decoration on its spine and covers, or none at all for that matter. Seventeenth-century British trade bindings were usually very plain indeed, either completely undecorated, or with the minimum of embellishment, although some items, especially devotional works, Bibles and prayer books, were frequently bound elaborately by the trade before a purchaser materialised.⁶³

Most scholar collectors in the seventeenth century were no doubt far more interested in what lay between the covers of an item in their library than in the covers themselves. As Gabriel Naudé put it in 1627 in his *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (^{I quote}quoting John Evelyn's translation of 1661):

It is a great deal better, and more necessary, for example, to have a good quantity of Books, well and ordinarily bound, than to have a little Chamber or Cabinet full of washed, gilded, ruled and enriched with all manner of nicity, lux and superfluity.⁶⁴

John Peacham in his *Compleat Gentleman* of 1622 said much the same thing:

Have a care of keeping your bookes handsome, and well bound, not casting over much in their gilding or stringing for ostentation sake, like the prayer books of girles and gallants, which are carried to Church but for their outsides.⁶⁵

From what is known of Nairn's character, and from a physical examination of his library, it can be assumed that he was content with the simplest of trade bindings for his new purchases of British origin, although a considerable number have been rebound since they entered Edinburgh University Library. Bindings on Nairn's second-hand items will be discussed in the next section. 'British' is stipulated above because there was an increasing tendency for trade bindings on new French and Dutch leather-bound items to display on their spines elaborate gold tooling between raised bands, often with the book's title and/or author lettered in one of the spine compartments. In addition, the leather covers were often marbled by using acid. This was referred to as the French style of binding, even by the Dutch.⁶⁶ A considerable number of relevant items in Nairn's library show this style, including four of the items he is known to have purchased in Paris in 1672 (204, 1234, 1265, 1335).

There is evidence that several, if not all, Scots collectors liked the French method of binding. In the 5 May 1678 letter of James Fall to the Earl of Tweeddale already referred to, Fall wrote of the new Elzevir books in the catalogue under discussion that being the ancient classics they

are not to be had ordinarily in the French binde, those who are curious cause binde them over againe if need be to their own fancy. your Lo[rds]hip may do in this as you think fit. for my own part I would not much advise it.⁶⁷

In the event, Lord Tweeddale probably ignored Fall's advice as two of the items mentioned by Fall are recorded, along with others, in an Amsterdam bill for books, undated but probably from late 1678 or 1679, preserved in the accounts of Lord Yester, Tweeddale's son, as being 'alle gebonden in francen banden'.⁶⁸

Another magnate, Lord Lothian, also liked the 'lux' of the French style. His agent in Paris, James Mowat, wrote to him on 30 January 1663 and began as follows.

My Lord, According to your Lordship's commands, I hav bought and payed all the bookes mentioned in the incloas'd memoir, all bond in one fazon, de veau *mabre*, with the titles in gould leters on the back. I will say nothing of the handsome and proprenes, only that knowing men hath mad esteeme of them.⁶⁹

On two occasions in the early 1680s Edinburgh University Library accounts specifically mention second-hand items as being 'Paris-bind'.⁷⁰

It is not surprising that the rich French style would have appealed especially to the aristocrat. Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh declared at the formal opening of the Advocates Library on 15 March 1689 that he wanted the books to look resplendent as well as wanting their contents to be of use: 'the part of the lawgiver is to rule, and it befits rulers to

be resplendent with gold and richly wrought ornament; we thought it right to bestow gold on the books that win it for us'.⁷¹ However, Edinburgh University Library on occasion also commissioned embellishment on the spine of a purchase. In 1665 the Librarian recorded payment of £5 expended on Buxtorf's two-volume folio Hebrew Bible (Basle, 1665) 'for putting on these names w^t golden letters and gilding ye backs of ye books w^t gold'.⁷²

As has been demonstrated in the last section of this chapter, a large number of books purchased by Scottish clients in Edinburgh bookshops came from London. Did they come to Scotland bound or unbound? Certainly, new books travelling between booksellers in London and booksellers in Edinburgh frequently travelled in quires. The Edinburgh bookseller John Calderwood wrote on an order for books from a London agent, Abel Small, in 1682, 'pray let not any of my bookes be sent bound'.⁷³ On the other hand, the fact that he had to say this suggests that items were customarily sent north in a bound state. Archibald Hislop's invoices show that he imported much material in sheets, but he also imported a great deal already bound. Most items in the latter category are just said to be 'bound' but there is also mention on a number of occasions of books bound in 'sheep' or bindings being 'rolled', that is, the leather binding had tooling in gilt or blind around the edges of its covers made by an engraved wheel stamp which naturally repeated its design as it was pushed along. There are also references to thin items being stitched, that is, the sheets sewn together without a binding. Far more infrequently, fillets, that is, lines produced by a wheel tool, are mentioned, as is 'gilt backed & lettered'.

Clearly there was variety. Hislop was a binder himself and the choice of whether a book should be imported bound or unbound would depend on whether it would be cheaper for him to bind in Edinburgh or pay the extra freight on the heavier bound volume. However, there would also be the question of whether the book was available at all unbound: if it could only be purchased in London already bound then he would have to accept it in this condition. There was nothing new about importing both bound and unbound items: an invoice of 1586 listing imports from London to Edinburgh separates bound and unbound items. Just over one-third were already bound.⁷⁴

There is no doubt that experienced binders were active in Edinburgh. Hislop has already been mentioned; and Plomer notes five others specifically as binders. Edinburgh University Library used George Mosman to bind books acquired in Holland in the 1690s; the Advocates Library used Mosman, Alexander Ogstoun and John Mein in the 1680s; and Lord Yester used Mosman and Gideon Shaw in the 1670s and early 1680s.⁷⁵ On the other hand, Yester also patronised London binders; and when Edinburgh University Library bought books in London in 1690 they were bound in the English capital before being sent north.⁷⁶

I have not been able to find any disparaging comments on the work of seventeenth-century Edinburgh binders, but Robert Baillie recorded his dislike of the work of the Glasgow binder James Sanders: in October 1637 he declared to Spang that he wanted all his foreign purchases to be sent already bound:

Send me no books unbound: I wish all in leather; but frae it cannot be, it's better to have them in your parchment, then to be fasched and extorted with James Sanders in Glasgow.⁷⁷

Baillie had mentioned to Spang already that year how 'I love not your whyte parchment',⁷⁸ but Nairn, as far as can be gathered from the library as it stands today, was quite happy with such vellum and parchment.

All in all, therefore, there was great variety in the bindings of books in seventeenth-century Scotland, not only in materials used but also in decoration and origin.

IV: Second-hand Books and Bibliophily

Given the long-term relevance of the great majority of scholarly works printed during and before Nairn's lifetime, and the expense of new books, it is not surprising that most scholarly libraries contained a high proportion of books already owned by at least one other person. Then as now, an older edition could be preferred to a later one. Baillie in 1639 wanted his friend Cunningham to look in London for the 'Bibliotheca Patrum in eight tomes, six great volumes, not the last rable of fyfteen tomes'.⁷⁹

Edinburgh in Nairn's lifetime appears to have been well served with sources for second-hand purchases, even if auctions did not begin until 1686. Lauder exchanged 'old books' with colleagues and friends, and purchased second-hand items from diverse traders.⁸⁰ William Broun the druggist and Nicol the University janitor have already been mentioned. Lauder's second-hand supplies seem not to have been from men whose main occupation was that of stationer but given the nature of surviving records

it is impossible to ascertain how many Edinburgh booksellers dealt both in new and second-hand material. It would appear that the great bulk of Hislop's imports were new items, although from the dates of the examples already given in this chapter the London booksellers must have had some items in store for several years. However, Hislop did on occasion buy second-hand goods: extant documentation clearly shows the purchase of books, 'all old pittifull' items, on 10 April 1677; and some at least of the twenty-one items acquired from one 'William Castellaw' (?) on 12 March 1675 were second-hand. Hislop gave Castellaw the three volumes of Ogilby's new atlas in exchange. David Trench certainly aimed to sell large quantities of second-hand material: his 1667 printed catalogue lists old and new indiscriminately throughout.

Prominent London booksellers also dealt in both new and second hand items, as the contents of the 1674 Scott catalogue demonstrates. The June 1680 letter referred to earlier from the London bookseller Robert Littlebury to Lord Yester mentions and lists material dating as far back as the 1540s as well as new material, including one item which had not yet been printed, although promised. From the 5 and 13 May 1678 letters between James Fall and Lord Tweeddale, also mentioned and quoted earlier, it is quite clear that the great Amsterdam firm of Elzevir likewise dealt in second-hand material as well as new books. Nairn's 1674 Elzevir catalogue lists new and old items together.

Eight hundred and forty-six items in the Nairn bequest, out of the maximum known titles of 1929, that is, 43.86%, were printed after 1649, the year in which Nairn was twenty and by which time he would probably have

started collecting seriously if not extensively. A number of the 1083 items printed before 1650 were probably new when Nairn purchased them, but on the other hand by no means all of the post-1649 items were acquired new. Nine of these latter bear *ex libris* and no doubt others without specific marks of previous ownership would have been purchased second-hand.⁸¹ Well over half of Nairn's books were therefore not new when he purchased them, but once again it should be stressed that his collection was none the less valuable for that. A great many of the donations to Edinburgh University Library throughout the century were second hand. And so were purchases.

The largest group of items with a single *ex libris* bears the signatures of the two Charles Lumsdens, father and son, successively (1588-1630 and 1640-c.1681) ministers of Duddingston. A maximum of twenty-nine volumes, all with pre-1650 imprints and covering a wide range of subjects, are involved.⁸² These show the movement of books from one scholarly Scottish owner to another through the generations. Nairn also owned items which had already belonged to more celebrated Scots of an earlier generation. St Hilary's *Lucubrationes* (Basle, 1550) bears the armorial binding of James Beaton, the last pre-Reformation Archbishop of Glasgow (769). Two items (1094 and 1577) bear the armorial binding stamp, and two more (315 and 1326) the signature, of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney (1527?-1593). Another item (501) bears the armorial binding stamp of Robert Crichton, a mid-sixteenth century Bishop of Dunkeld, while another (840) has the signature of James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow between 1615 and 1632. Andrew Melville's signature is on two volumes (358

and 1051), and, finally, one volume sported the personal binding of Mary Queen of Scots's half-brother the Regent James Stewart, Earl of Moray (385).²³ There is no doubt that it was the contents of all the above volumes which particularly concerned Nairn, although to one of the Melville items (1051) he was probably sentimentally attached, but not particularly from its association with the great reformer: the volume also has the signature on the title-page of Nairn's great friend Lawrence Charteris, and Nairn took what was for him the rare step of writing on a book when he recorded beside this signature that Charteris was minister of the Gospel at Bathans or Yester.

There is, however, no doubt that Nairn had a bibliophilic appreciation of fine printing and binding. He expressed it mainly not in the acquisitions for his own library, but in the gifts to Edinburgh University Library made in his own lifetime. All four items concerned would, I feel, have had their main significance even at the time of donation in their physical appearance rather than in their text, although Edinburgh would no doubt have found the texts useful. Of the three gifts of 1673, one (184) was a superb folio Latin Bible printed at Lyons by Sebastian Gryphius in 1550. It is in a fine red calf binding made for a John Buchanan of that Ilk, with copious gilt decoration and his name and arms impressed upon the front and back covers. The second 1673 gift (880) was the fine edition of Thomas à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi* printed at the Imprimerie Royale in Paris in 1640, the first production of that press. The third 1673 gift (1488) was also a product of the Imprimerie Royale, a Greek New Testament of 1642. Even the 1678 catalogue, not usually mentioning printing details

apart from place and date, states against 1488 (but not 880) 'Paris. Typis Regiis', while William Henderson's Donation Book says grandly of all three 1673 donations: 'They are 3 Bookes which for the Largness of the volumes, The Costliness & Rarity of the Binding The extraordinary greatnes & Excellency of the Print Are of great worth & Value'.⁸⁴ The single 1677 gift (1678) was Hieronymus Osorius's *De Regis Institutione et Disciplina* (Cologne, 1572) with a binding made for James VI and originally presented to the King in 1592 by Alexander Livingston, later Earl of Linlithgow. The subject matter and the provenance make a piquant association.

Nairn's appreciation of fine printing and binding was shared by other Scots of his day. Not surprisingly, aristocrats were the exemplars of such trends. The 1666 catalogue of Lord Lothian's library, preserved in the National Library of Scotland, lists, particularly in its first pages, a wealth of printing masterpieces - plate books, architectural folios, fine atlases (including Speed, Mercator and Ortelius), productions of the Imprimerie Royale, and other highlights like Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*. Fine bindings are also noted: 'in whyte gūlded', 'Red Spanish guild*', 'yellow guild*', 'Blew Spanish leather gūlded', 'in black velvet', and 'in Crimson velvet', the velvet bindings being on manuscripts.⁸⁵ The French bindings mentioned by James Mowat to the Earl in the letter of 1663 partly quoted in the previous section of this chapter may well have been put on older items, for a footnote to the same letter ends:

Your Lordship will have great satisfaction in thir bookes, some of them being verry rare to be found. They ar all unyforme in the binding.⁸⁶

Lord Yester also appreciated fine printing. The 1680 letter from Robert Littlebury mentions two items printed by the eminent mid-sixteenth century Paris printer Michel Vascosan: one of them, a 1543 edition of Caesar which is regarded as one of Vascosan's finest achievements, Littlebury's son was not able to acquire in Paris, but another Vascosan item had been secured and was Yester's if he wanted it.

It was in the seventeenth-century that the first stirrings of the cult of the *incunabulum* took place,²⁷ but there is nothing from the surviving evidence to suggest that Lords Lothian and Yester, or any other Scots collectors of this time, exemplified in their acquisitions a seeking of *incunabula* as such rather than as examples of fine book production, or bibliographical curiosity or general age, which just happened to be printed before 1500. There are no *incunabula* in Nairn's bequest to Edinburgh University Library although in David Bird's *A Catalogue of Sixteenth-Century Medical Books in Edinburgh Libraries* (Edinburgh, 1982) one item (no. 2494) in an appendix dealing with medical *incunabula* is attributed to the library of the Revd James Nairn from a signature on the item. The volume is now in Edinburgh University Library which purchased it at the sale of the books of the eminent doctor Sir Andrew Balfour in 1695.²⁸ In my opinion, this volume, which contains five examples of pre-1500 printing, one of them imperfect, as well as some miscellaneous items of early sixteenth-century printing, is not from the library of the subject of this thesis (see Appendix II). Wherever ^{it was} acquired, Balfour presumably was interested in its content: the first item is Petrarch's *De Secreto Conflictu Curarum Suarum* (Deventer, 1498). The items in the volume are

not examples of fine printing and the item fetched only eleven shillings in 1695, a very small sum.

There is no record of Leighton owning any *incunabulum*, but the Scougals and John Gray each owned two. The two owned by the Scougals were the Tritheim bibliography already mentioned, and a Caxton *Legenda Aurea* [1487?]. The two owned by Gray were a missal printed in Strassburg in 1497 and Hugo de Vinac's *Sermones Dominicales* ([Louvain] 1484). Were any of these items acquired and kept for typographical or other physical interest rather than content? It is impossible now to judge: the Tritheim is lost and none of the others has any markings by Gray or the Scougals giving a reason for acquisition. All three extant items are now imperfect and were probably so during their ownership by Gray and the Scougals, and the missal is according to the rather obscure use of Ermeland. I would suggest that the Tritheim was acquired for content, but that the others may have been bought as curiosities, although the subject content is not at variance with other items in the respective collections. Perhaps the Scougals and Gray had the best of both worlds.

The buoyancy of the market in second-hand material and the free access of Scottish book collectors to English and European markets meant that books in later seventeenth-century Scottish libraries displayed a wide range of places and dates of imprints. This great variety will now be discussed.

*V: The Imprints and Languages of Printed Books Collected By Scots in
Restoration Scotland. A Case Study*

Unlike the previous parts of this chapter, this particular section will be based almost exclusively on an investigation of the contents of Mairn's library. The imprint of every item and its language has been noted and tabulated. Given the library's size and the unique nature of the surviving evidence, it is valid to extrapolate from this one study general trends in the origins, age and languages of books circulating in Restoration Scotland.

Of the maximum known 1929 titles in Mairn's bequest, all but nine have certain, or reasonably certain, places of imprint. The breakdown by region/country of the 1920 items is as follows:

England	571 (29.74%)
Scotland	95 (4.95%)
Ireland	7 (0.36%)
United Provinces	349 (18.18%)
France	330 (17.19%)
Holy Roman Empire	290 (15.10%)
Switzerland	171 (8.91%)
Spanish Netherlands	71 (3.70%)
Italy	29 (1.51%)
Sweden	3 (0.16%)
Spain	2 (0.10%)
Portugal	1 (0.05%)
Poland	1 (0.05%) ^{es}

There is manifestly a wide geographical spread here: books on Mairn's shelves began life in places as far apart as Grenada, Lisbon, Upsala and Cracow. However, of these 1920, the great bulk, 1813 or 94.43%, came from the British Isles, France, the Holy Roman Empire, The United Provinces and

Switzerland. Italy, the great centre of early humanist printing can only muster twenty-nine items. Scotland does much better at ninety-five, but this figure includes fifty-four pamphlets included in Nairn's 'pamphlets collected and bound in leather' and in parchment, and, for a Scottish collection, is hardly a good showing.

It has been noticed by scholars how few Scottish imprints Leighton had in his collection: one estimate is that only about thirty titles in his library emanated from Scottish presses, a figure which Gordon Willis has rightly termed 'striking'.⁹⁰ It was well known even by contemporaries that seventeenth-century Scottish printers could not satisfy the needs of Scotsmen who wanted to have works of their own printed, let alone those who wanted to see works by foreigners printed north of the Tweed. Sir Thomas Urquhart declared:

Many learned books written in Scotland, for want of able and skillful printers and other necessities requisite for works of such liberal understanding have perished.⁹¹

Urquhart had all his works printed in London. Robert Baillie, writing in 1658, thought little of Scottish printers, but did not think much of English printers either for really scholarly work:

The Latine that is printed either here or at London, is so exceedingly ill done, that I will be very loath, if I can otherwayes doe, ever to employ them either for myself or others.⁹²

Baillie was at this time looking for a printer for a work by his late father-in-law, John Strang. The previous year the Elzevirs of Amsterdam had printed Strang's *De Voluntatione et Actionibus Dei*, and his *De Interpretatione & Perfectione Scripturae* was to be printed by Leers in Rotterdam in 1663. Of Baillie's own works, nothing apart from his very

first production and an appendix (in Latin) to an edition of Buxtorf's Hebrew grammar was first printed in Scotland. A similar situation occurred with Samuel Rutherford's works: his Latin works were mostly printed in the United Provinces, and his English works were largely printed in London. Arthur Johnston's celebrated collection of Scottish Latin poetry, the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, was printed in Amsterdam, not Edinburgh or London, in 1637. In another field, it was the Amsterdam firm of Blaeu which finally printed, in 1654, the Scottish maps originally prepared by Timothy Pont, who had died forty years before, and later revised by Robert and James Gordon. All in all, it is not surprising that England and the United Provinces provided 920 items, or 47.92% of the total items with known places of imprints in the Nairn bequest.

A scrutiny of the post-1649 items in the Nairn bequest is also interesting and informative. The maximum number here is 846 (44.06% of 1920), with one of these not having an ascertainable country of origin. Strangely enough, the numerical breakdown is in exactly in the same order as the whole sample, although the proportions are significantly different (percentages are of 845):

England	371 (43.91%)	(64.97% of all English imprints)
Scotland	26 (3.08%)	(27.37% of all Scottish imprints)
Ireland	5 (0.59%)	(71.43% of all Irish imprints)
United Provinces	197 (23.31%)	(56.45% of all Dutch imprints)
France	110 (13.02%)	(33.33% of all French imprints)
Holy Roman Empire	72 (8.52%)	(24.83% of all German imprints)
Switzerland	37 (4.38%)	(21.64% of all Swiss imprints)
Spanish Netherlands	20 (2.37%)	(28.17% of all Spanish Netherlands imprints)
Italy	4 (0.47%)	(13.79% of all Italian imprints)
Sweden	3 (0.36%)	(100% of all Swedish imprints)

Recent English imprints are thus particularly important, taking a much higher proportion than English imprints in the whole bequest. It is significant too that of countries having twenty or more post-1649 imprints the English and United Provinces post-1649 imprints are a much higher proportion of all the imprints of these countries than are the post-1649 imprints of Scotland, France, the Holy Roman Empire, and Switzerland. This is another vivid indication of the selling-power in Scotland of the later seventeenth-century productions of the English and Dutch printing presses. Scotland's post-1649 showing was not encouraging.

Within specific subjects, other conclusions can be reached regarding imprints, but these will be examined in chapters four to seven. Here, the collection will next be scrutinised by language. The language breakdown of the maximum known total of 1929 items in the collection is as follows:

Latin, or Latin with another language	1200	(62.21%)
Greek alone	3	(0.16%)
Hebrew alone	2	(0.10%)
French, or French with another language except Latin	172	(8.92%)
English, or English with another language except Latin or French	523	(27.11%)
Italian	27	(1.40%)
Scots	1	(0.05%)
No textual matter	1	(0.05%)

The importance of Latin as the international language of scholarly communication can be seen clearly. The figures do not show all languages in Nairn's collection: for instance, six items contain German, three of which are polyglot word-books (273, 519B, 865), one an elementary French grammar explained in German (519A - sandwiched between two other items), one a polyglot New Testament (186), and the last a work on the

Anabaptists in both German and Latin (1128). The two items with the text solely in Hebrew are both editions of the Psalms and Lamentations (1300, 1301), and Nairn had these texts in several other languages. Two of the three items with text solely in Greek are also biblical, editions of the New Testament (1488, 1489), one being a 1673 gift to Edinburgh University Library. Nairn had this too in several other languages. The third item in Greek (761) is a dictionary and this has some Latin notes. Nothing was in Spanish except for words in two polyglot word-books (273, 865), and any books not wholly in Latin, English, French, or Italian always had, apart from the five items mentioned above in Greek and Hebrew, a complete translation or paraphrase in Latin, French, or English to help Nairn in his perusal of the more exotic tongue. From this it can be gathered that Nairn's real linguistic abilities stopped at English, French, Latin and Italian, although some of his biblical works contain sections of varying length in several ancient Near Eastern languages, while one item discusses the Chinese language (1610) and another examines hieroglyphs (1198). His edition of Eutychius's *Annals* has the text in Arabic as well as in Latin (1391), one pamphlet (1581B) has text in Dutch as well as in Latin, and a manual of Hebrew and Chaldaic by Jan Leusden (931) has the explanatory material in both Latin and Flemish. The number of languages exemplified in Nairn's collection is therefore more striking than the depth.

It would be unwise to make any generalisations about Scottish linguistic abilities from Nairn's collection alone, and more will be said on this in chapter six. However, it should be mentioned that Leighton's library contained a considerable number of items in Greek without Latin

translation, and his Hebrew collection was outstanding. Twelve languages in all are represented and even Leighton's marginalia are in five: Latin, Greek, Spanish, Italian, and French.⁹³ What has a general interest and validity here, given the larger numbers of items involved, is the trend in the proportions of Nairn's books in Latin, French and English. Here it is necessary to show all the figures for the 846 post-1649 imprints.

Latin, or Latin with another language	425	(50.24%)
Greek alone	2	(0.24%)
Hebrew alone	2	(0.24%)
French, or French with another language except Latin	94	(11.11%)
English, or English with another language except Latin or French	310	(36.64%)
Italian	12	(1.42%)
Scots	0	
No textual matter	1	(0.12%)

Latin, as can be seen, was slipping as a vehicle for scholarly communication, but was still very strong. However, it should be remembered that a number of these 425 items were editions of the ancient classics or early Christian texts which were naturally in Latin or Greek (or Greek and Latin in Nairn's case). Latin as a vehicle for contemporary thought was therefore not as strong as the figure of 50.24% would suggest. Although we have seen that French imprints were declining, the French language as a vehicle for new ideas was expanding. However, it was English that shows the greatest advance. The use of Scots has expired completely.

VI: *The Cost of Books*

In the twentieth century many factors affect the cost of new books but the main ones are size, length, layout, illustration and intended market. The cost of second-hand items are affected by the same factors but by no means in exactly the same way. The above truisms are just as applicable to new and old books being purchased in the seventeenth century. This section is intended to outline in general terms what different kinds of books cost in Restoration Scotland. There are no printed records of prices charged by Edinburgh booksellers to compare with the English term catalogues or the union lists of William London and Robert Clavell. The sources, whether still in manuscript or in printed form, are scattered and have to be searched out.

A most useful record of the costs of books to an Edinburgh customer are two acquisition registers of Edinburgh University Library, listing and pricing items purchased between 1653 and 1695.⁹⁴ Use of these registers is particularly apposite in this study as Nairn had such close links with Edinburgh and its University, and the Library and Nairn often seemed to be acquiring the same titles, frequently in the same edition. From a close examination of these two volumes it would seem that the bulk of purchases lay in the range £1 to £5. Items above £10 tended to be substantial folios, or typographically complicated, or in more than one volume, or copiously illustrated. Anything above £20 was especially extraordinary in one or more of the above ways.

The following can be taken as a representative sample of the more expensive books: John Gerard, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (2° London, 1633) purchased in 1660 for £40; Thomas Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain* (2° London, 1655) purchased for £20 in 1656; Denis Petau, *De Doctrina Temporum*, 2 volumes (2° Paris, 1627) purchased in 1674 for £20, and the same author's *Theologicorum Dogmatum*, four volumes in five (2° Paris, 1644-50) purchased in 1684 for £70; Emperor Basil I's works in seven volumes (2° Paris, 1647) purchased in 1675 for £77 3s.4d.; Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* in '2 great folioes' (2° London, 1669) bought for £48 in 1673; Adrian Spigelius's medical works (2° Amsterdam, 1645) purchased in 1661 for £50; and Sir John Marsham's *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus ...* (2° London, 1672) purchased in 1675 for £12.⁹⁵ The above list shows a variety of subject matter and includes prices of books both obviously new and books obviously second-hand. As has already been said, the intellectual content of many items kept their value over many years and this is reflected in the high prices recorded for second-hand material at the top end of the scholarly market.

Books purchased by Edinburgh University Library for less than £1 were either short, small, ephemeral, a common text designed for student use, or, if second-hand, slightly dated. Typical examples were: Roger Widdrington, *Apologia Cardinalis Bellarmini pro Jure Principum*, (8° London? 1611) purchased in 1661 for 7/-; Franco Burgersdijck's edition of the *Sphaera* of Sacrobosco (8° Leyden, 1647) purchased in 1655 for 18/-; Robert Barclay the Elder's *A Catechism and Confession of Faith*, (8° London? 1674) purchased in 1676 for 12/-; and Bishop David Lindsay's *The Reasons of a*

Pastors Resolution, Touching the Reverend Receiving of the Holy Communion

(8° London, 1619) purchased around 1670 for 10/-.⁹⁶

The prices noted in the invoices of Archibald Hislop must not be regarded as prices paid by Scottish retail customers; his are wholesale prices between booksellers, and Hislop would have had to add freight charges, binding costs where appropriate, and generally mark up prices to provide his own livelihood. However, bearing mark-ups in mind, there is nothing which contradicts the conclusions reached after the scrutiny of Edinburgh University Library records. The same is true of the prices paid by Lauder of Fountainhall in the 1670s although they are rather cheaper on the whole than Edinburgh University Library's as he was buying a high proportion of his material second-hand.⁹⁷ The Edinburgh purchases of the more affluent father and son, Lords Tweeddale and Yester, between 1658 and 1681, reflect more closely the range of prices paid by Edinburgh University Library.⁹⁸

The books purchased by the friends and executors of the deceased Humphrey Galbraith in 1684 were obviously second-hand, and this is reflected in the prices but once again the proportions bear out the Edinburgh University Library findings. Some titles have been mentioned in the previous chapter; the prices they fetched should be noted here. The *Mercator Atlas* fetched £5, Cotta on witchcraft (4° London, 1616) fetched £1 14s., Gillespie's *Aaron's Rod Blossoming* (4° London, 1646) £1 16s, and the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, two volumes (12° Amsterdam, 1637) £1 4s. Other prices included a Demosthenes for 8/- and a Lucian for 6/-, while an edition of the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes (2° London, 1629, 1631 or

later) fetched £6 13s. Joseph Mede's *Works*, presumably one of the London folio editions of 1664, 1672 or 1677, fetched £12.⁹⁹ In a separate transaction of 1686, Galbraith's copy of Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum*, five volumes (2° London, 1669-1676), one of the grandest publishing ventures of the period, was sold for a piece of gold that the executor hoped would fetch about £5 sterling/£60 Scots.¹⁰⁰ Edinburgh University Library purchased the volumes as they appeared but ultimately recouped their expenditure with a gift of £96 in 1677 which was applied to the purpose.¹⁰¹ Lord Yester also paid £96 in Edinburgh the same year for his set,¹⁰² and so the owner of Galbraith's copy had quite a bargain.

Most bills for new books included the cost of the binding. However, there are some surviving Edinburgh records which record separately the cost of binding a book at this period. In 1676 Gideon Shaw charged Lord Yester £52 16s.0d. for binding twenty-two folios, that is £2 8s. for each. In the same bill quartos were charged at £1 4s. each and octavos at 16/- each.¹⁰³ Naturally, bigger items cost more to bind than small ones, and an extraordinarily large item would cost an extraordinarily large price: Lord Yester was charged £12 for the binding of each volume of *The English Atlas* produced in London between 1680 and 1682 by Moses Pitt.¹⁰⁴ Such prices were an appreciable part of the total cost of an item.

The Shaw prices mentioned above are rather more than those charged Yester by a London bookbinder Andrew Forrester in 1670. Forrester asked 9/- (sterling) for '6 Books in 4° Gilt back' and 10/- for '10 Books in 8^{to} Idem',¹⁰⁵ that is 18/- Scots for each quarto and 12/- Scots for each octavo. Perhaps London binding prices were consistently lower with more

binders vying for work, while Edinburgh binders knew that if clients had items bound more cheaply in London they would have to pay more in freight charges. Given the variety of binding styles and materials available, it is very difficult to compare like with like. The difference in what Hislop was charged, wholesale of course, by his London agent for an octavo item bound in sheepskin, and the same item bound in leather with modest decoration and in leather with full gilding on the spine was 4d. and 10d. sterling respectively. For a folio plain he was charged 2/- sterling, but the same item cost 3/- if it had a gilded spine.¹⁰⁶

Gilding an item, especially if large, could add considerably to the cost: gilding and lettering the backs of the two volumes of Buxtorf's 1665 Hebrew Bible cost Edinburgh University Library £5; and Shaw charged Lord Yester £6 for gilding the spines of the five volumes of Poole's *Synopsis*.¹⁰⁷ The great variety of costs and styles is reflected in a printed list of charges issued by London bookbinders in 1669 which has recently been reprinted and studied by the foremost binding historian working in Britain, Mirjam Foot; but even she is not certain what certain technical words in this and other seventeenth-century printed lists issued by London binders mean.¹⁰⁸

It might be expected that books in Edinburgh cost consistently more than they did in London, given the fact that such a high proportion of them had to be transported from London or from the continent, but I have not found any concrete evidence of this. Edinburgh University Library paid the Edinburgh bookseller John Calderwood £12 for Marsham's *Chronicus Canon Aegypticus* in 1675. This is slightly higher than the 18/- sterling

(£10 16s. Scots) quoted by Clavell in his *General Catalogue of Books* issued in London the same year. On the other hand the £48 Scots paid by the University in 1673, presumably in Edinburgh given the currency, for Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* was less than the price of £5 sterling quoted by Clavell.¹⁰⁹

John Lauder bought eight books from the Edinburgh bookseller Thomas Broun on 9 September 1673. Included in the eight were James Howell's *Letters*, presumably the fourth edition, 1673, which cost Lauder five shillings sterling, the exact price quoted by Clavell in 1675. Similarly identical in price were *A Journal of the War with Holland* (Oxford, 1673), two shillings, and Richard Leigh's *The Transproser Rehears'd* (Oxford, 1673), at eighteen pence sterling. On the other hand, Lauder paid only two shillings sterling for John Archer's *Every Man his own Doctor*, presumably the second edition, 1673, although it may have been the first edition, 1671, whereas Clavell in 1675 quotes it at 2/6d. Prices in excess of Clavell's quotations included *The Mercury Gallant* (London, 1673) for two shillings, quoted by Clavell at 1/6d, and Aglionby's *Present State of the United Provinces* (first edition, London, 1669, or, more likely, second edition, London, 1671), at thirty-four shillings Scots (that is 2/10d sterling), quoted by Clavell at 2/6d.¹¹⁰ There is clearly no definite trend here. The type of bindings, or the lack of them, is not recorded in Lauder's listing: like, therefore, may not be being compared with like. However, variations are not very great, and, overall, the range of prices for new books as given by Clavell in his catalogues of 1673 and 1675 relates quite closely to the range of costs incurred by Edinburgh

University Library and other Scottish purchasers buying books in Edinburgh. The Edinburgh booksellers would have had to strike a delicate balance between competitiveness with their London counterparts and their profit margins; Edinburgh book purchasers would have had to weigh up costs (including binding costs) in Edinburgh, carriage and postal costs of obtaining an item from London, and the ease, speed and reliability of supply.

Finally, it is interesting and informative to compare the costs of books with other necessities of life. A prime source here is the printed *Diary and General Expenditure Book of William Cunningham of Craigends ... Kept Chiefly from 1673 to 1680*, published by the Scottish History Society in 1887. Cunningham's book purchases were at the low end of the market: ephemeral pamphlets, acts, broadsides, or popular theology. Nothing cost him over £1 10s., except 'a new Bible and pock to it', purchased on 24 July 1679 for £3 4s. and Samuel Clarke's *A General Martyrologie* (2^d London, 1677), which cost him £11 14s. on 27 July of the previous year.'''

However, his other purchases were many and various: two snecks and two locks, 6/8d.; a horn comb, 11/-; a pair of stirrup leathers, 12/-; a pint of ale, 1/4d.; a shave, 6/8d.; a pair of shoes, £2 1s.4d.; three tickets to a play, £4 8s.; two dozen apples, 2/-; a penknife, 5/-; two pairs of good gloves, £2 1s.; a pair of silver shoe buckles, £4 16s.; a wig, £16 18s.; a cambric cravat, £1 12s.; greatboots, £18; a pair of shoes, £2; spurs, £1 10s.; a muff, £1 4s.; a hat, £5 8s.; a pair of black silk stockings, £6 12s.; a mutchkin of wine, 5/-; a dozen silver buttons, 18/-; a horse, £106 13s.4d.; a good new bridle, £2 18s.; a petticoat for his

wife, £28 3s.; a gown for his wife, £57 12s.; a portrait of himself, £23 18s.¹¹² Clearly, therefore, a book which cost over two pounds was quite a substantial purchase: a great many books in a well-rounded scholarly collection like Nairn's would have cost at least that. Book collecting on any large scale needed a dedication of purpose in order to accept the considerable cash outlay involved.

* * * * *

This chapter has shown how Scotland was very much part of the European intellectual community, how books and the ideas contained in them knew no national boundaries and found their way, from their disparate points of origin, quickly and easily, in a variety of coats, in a variety of languages, and by a variety of methods, on to Scottish shelves. Old books and new books moved equally freely, although it was the presses of England and Holland which were providing an increasing percentage of contemporary items, while Scotland's own printing efforts were lamentably inadequate. Tastes in books were naturally various but all were catered for, from the aristocrat to the student, from the apothecary to the minister, from the seaman to the son of a laird. It was only the money available to purchase books, often necessitating substantial expenditure, that would have curbed the individual Scottish collector eager to augment his library.

PART TWO

Introduction to Part II

The second part of this thesis is a survey, subject by subject, of Nairn's library, bringing out its strengths and comparative weaknesses, and comparing other Scottish clerical libraries of the day, in order to build up a detailed picture of the scholarly interests of episcopal clerics in the Restoration period.

The allocation in the following chapters of books to subjects was on many occasions a difficult one, and the results are not ideal. What in twentieth-century terms can be regarded as separately defined subjects were not so regarded in the seventeenth century. Medicine, for instance, had very strong links with chemistry and natural history, and *vice versa*, and scientific enquiry covered the subjects of alchemy and astrology, which today are more or less totally divorced from the mainstream of rational scientific investigation. Astrology and magic also had their place in theological and literary studies as well as in philosophical, scientific and medical ones, while many of the productions of the Renaissance humanists can be regarded both as philosophical and as literary works. Modern physics, or natural philosophy, was in the seventeenth century, as its older alternative name suggests, a branch of general philosophical enquiry and an integral part of it. Political science was likewise a part of philosophy, and ethics and metaphysics inextricably mixed philosophy and religion: this is particularly true of studies having Plato as their real or imagined origin.

Decisions about where individual titles should best be discussed have had to be taken regarding all the above problems, and also regarding many others. Should the remains of classical literature be taken as a whole, surveyed as a complete legacy from the ancient world, or should ancient authors be studied subject by subject, along with later writers? Should the study of the Jews and Jewish civilisation be regarded as theological, or be split between theology, history, literature and other subjects? Should the vexed question of the state/church relationship, in which Nairn was very interested, be regarded ^{as} primarily of theological interest, or political, or philosophical, or legal?

I have, for example, split up the study of the Jews and the classics across chapters according to the different aspects covered, but discussed Hebrew mainly in the theological chapter as it is clear that Nairn was solely interested in the language for theological, primarily biblical, reasons. I have also separated works on law and political theory from general philosophy, but, there again, authors like Hobbes refuse to be compartmentalised. Theoretical works on the church/state relationship are also discussed in the political theory and law section of chapter seven, but much relevant material has had to be included in the theology chapter, and as some theoretical works were prompted by specific events, accounts of these will be found in works on general or ecclesiastical history. General and ecclesiastical history themselves refuse on many occasions to be divided neatly from each other.

Generally speaking, subjects in the following chapters have been arranged according to twentieth-century ideas, although seventeenth-

century ideas have always been taken into account. I am quite aware, however, that these decisions on subject division could be disputed *ad infinitum*. Overlap and repetition are bound to occur, the result of the interplay between all subjects. However, I hope they will be kept to a minimum.

Chapter 4. Theology in the Library of James Mairn, with Some Comparisons

Religion permeated the lives of all Europeans in the seventeenth century. The Scots fought a major war with religious beliefs a fundamental cause between the late 1630s and the early 1650s; and religious hostilities rumbled on sporadically for the rest of the century, causing death and injury as well as general insecurity, destruction of property and economic upheaval. Scots from all sections of society had passionately-held religious opinions, and ^{these were} ~~this was~~ often coupled with an ability and active wish to dispute and argue on theological topics. The Bible as a source of inspiration, information, dogma and dispute was of the utmost importance: many people probably owned this book and none other. Their knowledge of its contents was profound. Biblical quotation and allusion peppered speech, and biblical exemplars could be found for any action.

G. D. Henderson and D. Anderson discussed fully the place of the Bible in seventeenth-century Scotland thirty years ago;¹ and indeed most aspects of the religious history of the period have been the target of an immense amount of scholarship, from the the writings of the contemporaries David Calderwood, John Spottiswoode, James Kirkton and Henry Guthrie, and near contemporaries like Robert Wodrow, through to studies undertaken in the present century by scholars like Henderson and, more recently, David Stevenson and Ian B. Cowan.²

Since the Revolution of 1688, which swept away episcopacy as the established form of church government in Scotland for good, there has always been a natural concentration on, and for most historians working

before 1900 a strong bias towards, the Covenanters, the victors in the struggle, with a comparative dearth of objective study on the world of the episcopalians. However, the religious interests of seventeenth-century Scottish episcopalians have not been completely neglected. G. D. Henderson studied aspects in his *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*; and Robert Leighton, perhaps the greatest of the group, has been the centre of much study over the centuries, with detailed analysis of his intellectual tastes. One short article by Henderson, on 'Leighton and his Friends', published in 1932 in the journal of the *Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral* (volume I part 3, pp. 4-9) is particularly germane to the contents of this chapter. One of the 'friends' specifically mentioned is Nairn. Such work makes it impossible to say completely new things here about the theological tastes of the episcopal clergy in the Restoration period, although certain aspects not hitherto stressed will be given prominence, and the whole range of theological writings chosen for inclusion in libraries is discussed in a far fuller way than has been hitherto attempted.

Nairn's adoption of the clerical profession meant that he was not just an amateur theologian like so many of his countrymen. Theological study for seventeenth-century aspirants to the Scottish ministry was long and arduous, and before being admitted to the Canongate parish Nairn would have been closely examined by the Presbytery of Edinburgh on his knowledge of the Bible and ecclesiastical history, his ability to explain biblical points, his knowledge of biblical languages, and his ability to expound and elucidate a given theological topic. The Presbytery would

have had to have pronounced itself completely satisfied with his efforts before Nairn's career could advance.³

All in all, it is only to be expected that Nairn's library contained more books on theology than on any other subject and that he continued to acquire theological books right up to his death. Of the maximum number of known titles in his library, 1929, I regard 1041, or 53.97%, of them as primarily theological, of which 455, or 43.71% of the 1041, were printed after 1649.

Given Nairn's profession, the significant thing is that the percentage of theological items in the collection is as low as it is. The Revd James Nairn was far from being exclusively interested in theology; and the same is true about the interests of his fellow episcopal clerics as reflected in their various libraries. For example, examining the 932 items in the main, non-pamphlet, sequence of the catalogue of the library of John Gray, as recorded, albeit imperfectly, in print in 1929, I have calculated that almost exactly one-third (33.29%) is non-theological. A great amount of non-theological material also figures in the contemporary and near-contemporary catalogues of the substantial libraries of Leighton, Wemyss, Annand and the Scougals, as shall be seen in subsequent chapters. The smaller library of Archdeacon Moore, as recorded in 1744, is more exclusively theological, but here too other subjects are represented; and this is equally true of the library of James Lundie, known only through a partial catalogue. The fifty-six known titles from the library of the Revd Humphrey Galbraith (d.1684) cover medicine, geography, the classics,

philosophy, and secular history as well as theology. His books were largely dispersed amongst fellow clerics.

* * * * *

One of the few pieces of information recorded about Nairn's theological beliefs outside the evidence of his book collecting is that he was, in the words of Robert Wodrow, 'inclinable to the Pelagian tenets as was then thought'.⁴ The doctrine referred to, expounded by the early fifth-century Pelagius, was, in the succinct words of the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 'that a man took the initial and fundamental steps towards salvation by his own efforts apart from the assistance of Divine Grace'. This doctrine had been rejected as heretical by the early church, largely through the influence of St Augustine of Hippo, but the role of free will in salvation continued to be a source of profound argument through the succeeding centuries. The 'Pelagian tenets' were particularly antipathetic to the followers of John Calvin, whose adherence to severely Augustinian tenets of salvation through divine grace alone was the corner-stone of their faith. Even within the Calvinist churches, however, there were differences of opinion; and there were also important differences of opinion on the roles of grace and free will within the Catholic Church in seventeenth-century Europe. In Catholic circles the dispute centred on the teaching of Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres (1585-1638) who was a strict Augustinian, and whose opinions were opposed by the Society of Jesus, influenced by the great sixteenth-century Spanish Jesuit theologian Luis de Molina. Amongst the Calvinists, the disputes over grace centred on the opinions of the Dutch theologian Jacobus

Arminius (1560-1609). His teachings and writings, branded by his opponents as Pelagian or semi-Pelagian, were condemned at the Synod of Dort, 1618-1619, but Arminian disputes carried on throughout the century. In Holland, the prime Arminian apologist, to his great personal cost, was his pupil Hugo Grotius (1583-1645).

The Dutch controversies were followed particularly avidly in Scotland, with which country the United Provinces had many ties, both religious and economic. Professor G. D. Henderson, fifty years ago, wrote on the importance for Scottish Calvinism of the Synod of Dort and the general conflict over Arminianism, and noted the presence of literature on Arminianism in Scottish libraries, public and private.⁵ He did not use Nairn's library as an example but he could well have done as it reinforces the importance of Arminianism, and more generally of the question of grace versus free-will, in Scottish seventeenth-century theological circles. Nairn owned all the basic works on the subject of grace and free-will, from the works of Augustine (102) and the moderate John Cassian (317) onwards. The writings of Pelagius himself are largely lost, but Nairn had Cardinal Noris's magisterial work on the early history of the subject, the *Historia Pelagiana*, in a Dutch edition printed only a year before Nairn's death (1114). He also possessed Arminius's *Opera Theologica* (Leyden, 1629) (78), Luis de Molina's *Liberi Arbitrii cum Gratiae Donis, Divina Praescientia ... Concordia* (Antwerp, 1595) (1039), Jansen's *Augustinus* (Louvain, 1640) (835), and the *Acta* of the Synod of Dort (Harderwijk, 1620) (523), as well as several works by Grotius, including his pro-Arminian *Ordinum Hollandiae ac Westfrisicae Pietas ab Improbissimis*

Calumniis (Leyden, 1613) (716). The bequest, however, lacks Grotius's greatest theological work, the *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*.

Henderson has pointed out that Grotius's works were well-known in Scotland and well represented in Scottish libraries, claiming that Leighton owned all of his works.⁶ Leighton certainly owned a much greater array of his works than Nairn, but all clerical libraries studied for this thesis included one or more titles by Grotius.

The Church of England, like the Scottish church, was also influenced by Arminian and anti-Arminian ideas coming from Holland, and Nairn owned a number of works discussing predestination and free-will by Anglican divines, for example Lawrence Womock (1612-1686) (69, 1511), Richard Montagu (1577-1641) (1047), George Carleton (1559-1628) (1676/4), Richard Allestree (1619-1681) (483, 512), Gerardus Vossius (1577-1649) (1591), Daniel Featley (1582-1645) (1676/1-3), George Downame (d.1634) (525), John Davenant (1576-1641) (477), and James Usher (1581-1656) (1539). The last four to be mentioned were all strongly anti-Arminian, but the others were more moderate in their views on free-will: Montagu, especially, was strongly Arminian, the object of attack in the Featley and Carleton items noted above. The presence of so many Anglican works on the subject shows Nairn's sympathy with that church: the productions of Anglican divines are, as shall be seen, a feature of many aspects of his theological collecting. Even within Anglicanism, however, Nairn wanted to own works representing different views.

His Scottish holdings on the Arminian question are significantly fewer than his Anglican holdings, but once again Nairn displays no strict

partisan outlook to the exclusion of views not akin to his own. The moderate John Strang (1584-1654) is represented in his *De Voluntate et Actionibus Dei Circa Peccatum* (Amsterdam, 1657) (1459), and Nairn had the complete works (Frankfurt, 1642) (283) of John Cameron (c.1579-1625), whose theological views on various matters were such that he had to spend most of his professional life furth of Scotland. On the other hand, the bequest also contains two relevant works by the strict Calvinist Samuel Rutherford: *Exercitationes Apologeticae pro Divina Gratia* (Amsterdam, 1636) (1323) and *The Covenant of Life Opened* (Edinburgh, 1655) (1322).

French Calvinist theologians were also involved in controversies over grace and free-will, and one such churchman, the great preacher Jean Daillé (1594-1670), a pupil and disciple of John Cameron, is represented in Nairn's library by no less than twenty-three bibliographically separate titles, a record for any author in the bequest (448-468). The works cover a wide range of theological topics but include two titles, the *Apologia pro Duabus Ecclesiarum in Gallia Protestantium Synodis Nationalibus* (Amsterdam, 1655) and the *Vindiciae Apologiae* (Amsterdam, 1657) (456-7), which discussed universal grace. Daillé believed that divine grace extended to all, and not just to the predestined elect, as believed by orthodox Calvinists. Leighton had at least nine titles by Daillé in his library, including the *Apologia*, and Moore and the Scougals each had two, in both cases including the *Apologia*. Gilbert Burnet recorded that he had 'one long conversation' with the Frenchman when in Paris in 1664 and had hoped for further meetings.⁷ This was at a time when Burnet was greatly under Nairn's influence.

In his espousal of universal grace Daillé sided with a fellow disciple of Cameron, Moïse Amyraut (1596-1664) whose *Specimen Animadversionum in Exercitationes de Gratia Universali* (Saumur, 1648) (40) Nairn also owned, along with four other titles by Amyraut. Leighton had at least two titles by Amyraut, one of which was the *Bref Traitté de la predestination* (Saumur, 1634); the Scougals owned a work by Cameron on the same subject.

More closely allied with Arminius on the subject of free-will was the Dutch Calvinist Conrad Vorstius (1569-1622): Nairn owned over twenty works, most of them pamphlet material, by or relating to him (1578-1582). On the other hand, Nairn also possessed the *Opera Theologica* (Amsterdam, 1664) of Francis Gomar (1563-1641) (691), Arminius's chief opponent, and also a polemic by a leading disciple of Gomar's, Gijsbert Voet (1589-1676) (1663), as well as anti-Arminian pamphlet material by two English Puritans, Henry Burton and Thomas Whitfield (1676/5, 1672/1) and an anti-Daillé work by the English independent Louis du Moulin (1044).

^{Thus}
~~All in all, therefore,~~ although it would be true to say that the bulk of relevant material in Nairn's library reflects his recorded moderate views on predestination, it is certainly not true to say that all works reflect one single viewpoint. Nairn obviously wanted a representative collection which would give him a range of views to ponder, and there is no sense of narrowness here, in common with most areas of his collecting. The above survey, moreover, does not exhaust the range of opinions expressed on grace within the library: Nairn also had, for example, relevant works by the pro-Arminian Dutch theologian J. A. Corvinus (411), the moderate sixteenth-century Protestant Sebastian Castellio (319), and

the moderate Swiss Arminian Etienne de Courcelles (442), as well as works by a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Catholics (294, 364, 520-21, 662, 855, 978, 1290). Works by Jansen and Molina have already been mentioned.

Leighton concentrated on collecting works by seventeenth-century theologians whose views on grace and free-will most reflected his own: he had, for instance, no Gomar, Jansen, Rutherford or Voet to offset the views of Amyraut, Daillé, Grotius, or Arminius himself, whose theological works he owned in the same edition as owned by Nairn. W. E. K. Rankin in his article on William Moore's library stated: 'Moore as an Episcopalian may have tended to Arminianism ... but he kept a good balance in his library.'¹⁰ His two Daillé titles have been mentioned, and, like Nairn, he also owned the works of Courcelles and Cameron, as well as a selection of works by Arminius. The moderates John Strang, Pierre du Moulin the Elder, and William Twisse on grace and free-will are represented, but also relevant writings by the more predestinarian Usher, Rutherford and William Ames, as well as the Catholic Alvarez. John Gray owned the *Opera Theologica* of Arminius and Courcelles, as well as Arminius's *Epistolae*, Strang's *De Voluntate ... Dei Circa Peccatum*, the Acts of the Synod of Dort, Rutherford's *Exercitationes ... pro Divina Gratia*, Featley's *Pelagius Redivivus*, and the *Meditationes de Voluntatione Dei* by the strict Dutch Calvinist Triglandius. Annand, Wemyss and the Scougals likewise managed to incorporate in their libraries both predestinarian writings and those admitting various degrees of free will, although in all cases the writings of moderates predominate.

Finally, before I leave Arminianism, the question of the Socinians, whose Unitarian doctrines were, without foundation, associated with Arminians, should be mentioned, for here Nairn shows once again an all-embracing collecting policy. He owned Grotius's attack on Socinianism, the *Defensio Fidei Catholicae de Satisfactione Christi adversus Faustum Socinum* (Leyden, 1617) (719), and also other anti-Socinian material written from a variety of viewpoints (199, 630, 656, 1132, 1211, 1648, 1667), but also the mammoth corpus of Socinian writings, the eight volume folio *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* (Amsterdam, 1656) (1425) and also two other individual Unitarian works (796B, 886). No other clerical library studied for this thesis included these or any other pro-Socinian works although those of James Wemyss and William Moore both included a Socinian catechism. Leighton owned the Grotius polemic mentioned above, but also a work by the strict Calvinist Johannes Peltius setting out to demonstrate Arminian affinities with Socinianism; Wemyss also owned the Peltius, while Moore owned volume three of Hoornbeeck's *Socinianismus Confutatus*.

The doctrines on grace of the Catholic Bishop of Ypres, Cornelius Jansen, have already been mentioned. From what has been described of Nairn's and Leighton's leanings on the subject of free-will it might be expected that they were not particularly sympathetic to the followers of the Bishop, but other aspects of Jansenism as it developed over the decades appealed greatly to both men. The Jansenists, whose main apologists centred on the convent of Port-Royal, just outside Paris, led an

austere and simple life, concentrating on personal devotions. It was these aspects which attracted Leighton and his younger friend.

The influence of Jansenism on Leighton has been very well documented, as has the presence of Jansenist works in his library,⁹ but Nairn's relative obscurity has ensured that his interest has gone unnoticed. It is clear from his library that he too was well acquainted with Jansenist thinking. Apart from Jansen's *Augustinus*, which Leighton does not appear to have owned, Nairn also owned highly important works by several men closely associated with Port-Royal: for example, the first edition of Duvergier de Hauranne's highly influential *Lettres chrestiennes et spirituelles* (Rouen, 1645) (1661), and a sixth edition of the same author's *Théologie familière* (Rouen, 1652) (1553), as well as an *Apologie* (Paris? 1644) (58) for Duvergier by another leading light at Port-Royal, Antoine Le Maistre. Other Jansenist works in the Nairn bequest include Antoine Arnauld's *De la frequente communion* in an edition printed in Paris in 1669 (86), Blaise Pascal's *Pensées* (Amsterdam, 1672) (1160) and the same author's *Les Provinciales*, present both in the original French (1050) and in the first Latin translation incorporating highly important notes by another leading Jansenist, Pierre Nicole (1049). Pascal's *Provinciales* are largely attacks on the Jesuits, the conflict between the Jansenists and Jesuits having as one of its most deep-seated sources the differences over divine grace and free-will. Two further Jansenist attacks on the Jesuits in Nairn's bequest are in English translation (837, 1090), as is the *Journal* of another leading Jansenist, Louis de Saint Amour (39).

Leighton's and Nairn's interest in Jansenism was not an exceptional one in the Scotland of their day, and the interest was not confined to clerics: in 1677, James Inglis of Cramond gave to Edinburgh University Library Arnauld and Nicole's *La perpétuité de la foy de l'église catholique* and Nicole's *Préjuges légitimes contres les Calvinistes*, neither of which are in the Nairn bequest, as well as two attacks on these works by the French reformed cleric Jean Claude, one of which, that on the *Préjuges*, Nairn also owned (369). The young Gilbert Burnet expressed his interest by wanting to meet Jansenists when in Paris in 1664, although he failed to do so.¹⁰ John Gray owned editions of Pascal's *Provinciales* and *Pensées*, as well as *The True Idea of Jansenism, Both Historick and Dogmatick* by Theophilus Gale (London, 1669) and a favourable critique of Pascal's *Pensées* by Jean Filleau de La Chaise.

On the other hand, this interest was not held equally by other episcopal clerics of the Restoration period: an investigation of the Scougal library catalogue, as G. D. Henderson has noted, shows that 'there is no indication, however, of knowledge of Jansenism'.¹¹ The same is true of the libraries of Moore and Annand, and the only relevant work noted in Wemyss's library is Saint-Amour's *Journal*. It can hardly be expected, in this field as in any other, that contemporary Scottish episcopal clerics should display completely uniform interests. Indeed, it can be regarded as an indication of their independence of mind that they did not.

Nairn's admiration of, and affinities with, the Cambridge Platonists, that group of seventeenth-century Anglicans as passionately interested as the Jansenists in personal religion, and almost equally profoundly

scholarly, has been alluded to in chapter two above. Apart from their interest in personal religion, their strong anti-predestinarian tendencies and their disdain for intra-Protestant dogmatic disputes no doubt also endeared them to Nairn. It was also mentioned in chapter two above how Nairn recommended the writings of John Smith and Henry More to the young Gilbert Burnet in the early 1660s. Moreover, Burnet met More, Benjamin Whichcote and Ralph Cudworth, the three leading Cambridge Platonists, on his English travels in 1663, probably stimulated by Nairn's enthusiasm.¹² No doubt the voluble Burnet told Nairn of his encounters after his return.

Items in the Nairn bequest show from another source just how important the writings of the Cambridge Platonists were to him. Theological titles only will be mentioned here: philosophical and scientific works will be mentioned in the next chapter. The title by John Smith recommended to Burnet by Nairn, the *Select Discourses*, was only published in 1660, which shows Nairn's quick awareness of the writings of members of the group. However, the *Discourses* are not in the bequest to Edinburgh University Library. Were they one of the volumes left by Nairn to his friends? Unfortunately, it is not likely that we shall ever know. Other relevant titles which were fortunately included in the bequest to Edinburgh University Library include Ralph Cudworth's *Discourse Concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper*, second edition (London, 1670) (437), John Worthington's *The Great Duty of Self-Resignation to the Divine Will* (London, 1675) (1644), and no less than seven items by Henry More, five of which are theological (1055-57, 1059, 1061). Whichcote had no work printed ^{before his death} ~~in his lifetime~~, which occurred five years after Nairn's, in 1683.

Leighton's interest in the writings of this group, and their influence on his own work, has been noted by scholars, as has the presence of their works in his library.¹³ The presence of relevant titles has also been noted in the library of the Scougals.¹⁴ John Gray also had some titles: for example, John Smith's *Select Discourses*, More's *Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* and John Worthington's *The Great Duty of Self-Resignation to the Divine Will*. James Wemyss owned Ralph Cudworth's *Discourse Concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper* and two theological titles by More.

Another much recorded aspect of Robert Leighton's literary tastes, of which his admiration of the writings of the Cambridge Platonists was a manifestation, was his liking for devotional works by Catholic and Protestant alike: as the unsympathetic Robert Wodrow put it, 'he was much taken with some of the popish mystic writers'.¹⁵ Two authors in particular have been regarded as being particularly close to Leighton: St François de Sales (1567-1622) and the fifteenth-century Thomas à Kempis. His library reflected these tastes with a wealth of relevant material, including Thomas's *Imitation of Christ* in Greek, Latin, French, English and Italian, and at least twelve titles by the Jesuit Jeremias Drexel (1581-1638). Leighton himself wrote a work entitled *Counsels of Perfection, or, Rules and Instructions for Spiritual Exercises*. Lawrence Charteris, Nairn's closest friend, whose love for 'the Misticall Divines'¹⁶ was recorded by Burnet and whose adoption of an ascetic lifestyle, similar to that of Nairn and Leighton, has already been noted in this thesis, wrote a work, printed posthumously in 1704, entitled *Spiritual Discourses*. Much

more widely known is the work by his younger contemporary Henry Scougal, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, which was printed anonymously in 1677 and was seen through the press by the ubiquitous Gilbert Burnet, who provided an introduction and an appendix entitled 'An Account of the Beginnings and Advances of a Spiritual Life'. Burnet in his *Autobiography* records how in the 1660s he went through a period of deep interest in the mystics, in particular the life and works of St Teresa of Avila.¹⁷ The whole Leighton circle was thus steeped in a love of religious spirituality.

As a friend of Leighton and Burnet and as an ascetic himself, Nairn may naturally be expected to have had a fine collection of devotional works. This was indeed the case. His collection was very extensive, incorporating upwards of sixty titles and certainly holding its own with Leighton's far more publicised holdings. It would be extremely tedious to list here all the titles, which include works extremely rare today, and probably rare even in Nairn's own day, but a list of some of the authors shows how devotional works owned by Nairn were written by men from many different countries, from different centuries, and from varying denominational and cultural backgrounds: the Lutheran Johann Arndt (1555-1621) (79); the English layman William Austin (1587-1634) (106); the Capuchins Constantin de Barbanson (1581?-1632?) (121) and William Fitch (1563-1611) (167); the High Anglican Daniel Brevint (1616-1695) (244); the Spanish Dominican Luis de Grenada (1505-88) (339, 700-02); Peter of Celle (c.1115-1183) (2); the early seventh-century St John Climacus (378); the Jesuit Jeremias Drexel (1581-1638) (530-31); the fifth-century Dionysius the Areopagite (501); the Anglican bishop Edward Wettenhall

(1636-1713) (513, 550); the Puritan Dudley Fenner (1558?-1587) (594); Walter Hilton (d.1396) (770); Thomas à Kempis (c.1380-1471) (879-80); the fifteenth-century Florentine humanist Marsilio Ficino (601); the Frenchman Jean Gerson (1363-1429) (659); Dionysius the Carthusian (1402-71) (502-04); Walter Montagu (1603?-1677) (1048); the Spaniard Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595-1658) (1107); Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682) (1268); St François de Sales (1567-1622) (1329-33); Henry Scougal (1650-1678) (1379); Johann Tauler (c.1300-1361) (1492); Jeremy Taylor (1613-67) (1482); and the twelfth-century Richard of St Victor (1558). The Scougal item is unfortunately lost: it would be very interesting to know if it had been, like Leighton's copy, a presentation copy.

Clearly, Nairn's love of devotional literature went very deep indeed. One of the Thomas à Kempis copies (880) was given to Edinburgh University Library in 1673: the only two other items given at the same time were Holy Writ - a Bible and a New Testament. The *Imitation of Christ* had long been a favourite in Calvinist Scotland: twelve copies of the title are recorded in a list of books imported into Scotland from London in October 1586,¹⁰ and copies appear in the catalogues of the libraries of the Scougals, John Gray and Archdeacon Moore. Moore's library was not particularly strong in devotional works, although he did own the *Meditations* of both Luis de Grenada and St Bernard. Gray's larger library had a higher number, including the Henry Scougal, Thomas à Kempis's *Opera Omnia*, Arthur Warwick's *Spare-Minutes, or, Resolved Meditations*, Johann Gerhard's *Meditationes Sacrae* (two copies), Gilbert Hales's *Contemplations, Moral and Divine*, Charles Herle's *Contemplations and Devotions*, and

Charteris's *Spiritual Discourses*. Not surprisingly, the Scougal library also contained works of Christian devotion, including works by François de Sales, Tauler, Luis de Grenada, and Walter Montagu. No library, however, came near to matching the variety of works found in the libraries of Nairn and Leighton.

Leighton and Nairn in this field showed their individual preferences, as, for that matter, did Gray: Nairn had only two titles by Drexel, but Leighton had over a dozen; Nairn had no less than sixteen works (888-895) by the French Pietist Jean de Labadie (1610-1674) whereas Leighton had none at all. Labadie does not appear in the catalogues of any of Nairn's clerical contemporaries. None of the circle seems to have been interested in the German theosophist Jakob Boehme: Nairn had one work by him, on predestination (159), but neither Leighton nor any of the other clerics had any at all, although Edinburgh University Library was presented during this period with some of his works by a Scottish layman, James Butter (M.A., Edinburgh, 1672). Butter also presented mystical writings by Antoinette Bourignon, who had an influence on certain post-1688 Scottish episcopal clerics, but no clerical collection of the Restoration period which I have studied incorporated any title by her.¹⁹

Clearly, from the above, differences in religious denomination counted for little in this section of Nairn's library. Taking the Protestant writers in Nairn's theological collection as a whole, there is a wide range of opinions represented, as has been seen when discussing the particular question of grace and free-will. It would be true to say, however, that although some extreme Calvinists are represented in the library - Gomar

(691), who has already been noted, Aretius (72), Maresius (986-67), Rivet (1296-98), and Triglandius (1529) for example - there is a tendency towards writers representing the middle ground. There is no Calvin at all; and neither Luther nor Zwingli is noted in the 1678 catalogue, although Nairn did own Luther's *Contra Henricum Regem Angliae* (Basle, 1522) (85B), bound in after two other items.²⁰ The more moderate, intellectual, fathers of the Protestant church are much better represented: Melancthon (1008-10), Beza (178-81, 656, 775), Bucer (253).

Leighton's library also tended in general to the middle ground, although he did own Calvin's *Institutes*, his *Catechism*, a collection of shorter works and letters, and several biblical commentaries. These may well have been owned by Leighton's father, but Gordon Willis has noted that they 'are not altogether free of jottings by Robert Leighton'.²¹ The Puritan William Ames also appeared in his catalogue several times, and this is also true of the catalogue of the library of the Scougals. Rivet was present in the Scougal library as he was in Nairn's, while Archdeacon Moore had numerous theological works by strict Calvinists - William Ames, Samuel Maresius, Heinrich Alting, for example - as well as Calvin's *Institutes* themselves. Gray, too, had titles by Calvin, Ames, Maresius and Rivet. No episcopal collector systematically excluded from his library works whose basic premises on many dogmatic points must have been far from his own. If such works had been excluded their theological collections would have been very much smaller and weaker.

Leighton's library, of all the clerical libraries studied, is weakest in controversial theology, although certainly not free from it. He advised his students:

As for you, young gentlemen, especially those of you that intend to devote yourselves to theological studies, it is my earnest exhortation and advice to you, that you avoid, as you would the plague, that itch for polemical and controversial theology, which is so prevalent and infectious.²²

Nairn would undoubtedly have endorsed this sentiment fully, and several works in his library exemplify a desire to avoid an emphasis on points of difference between Christian denominations in preference for a concentration on common ground between them. One of the volumes of pamphlets (1677) in the bequest contains a clutch of works by his countryman, that indefatigable seeker after church unity and, incidentally, writer on librarianship, John Dury (1596-1680). Another work in the collection discussed union with the Greek Church (30). There is also a collection of writings edited by Grotius entitled *Via ad Facem Ecclesiasticam* (1524), bound with other ecumenical writings by Grotius. Nearer home, John Forbes's *Irenicum* (Aberdeen, 1629) (608) pleaded for unity within the Scottish Church.

Nevertheless, although Nairn's holdings of works by adherents of one Protestant denomination attacking adherents of another denomination are not particularly strong, they are certainly in evidence: works by Puritans against the Church of England and, more numerous, *vice versa*;²³ two works attacking the Quakers (765, 1036); one work supporting the Brownists (59); works against the Baptists and Anabaptists (139, 379, 382, 587, 1128, 1633, 1672/5); works concerning the Socinians, already

discussed. Items following through a succession of particular personal arguments expressed in print are very rare in the library.

Not surprisingly, given the structure of the church he served between 1662 and his death, and the emigration of his close associates, Leighton and Burnet, to England and Anglicanism, there are very many works by Church of England divines in Nairn's collection: ~~Naming just a few of the~~
^{for example}
~~galaxy of Anglicans~~, there are works by George Abbot, Richard Allestree, Thomas Barlow, Thomas Bilson, John Bramhall, John Cosin, Richard Cosin, John Davenant, Edward Fowler, Henry Hammond, John Jewel, Samuel Parker, Robert Sanderson, Edward Stillingfleet, Herbert Thorndike, Seth Ward, and John Wilkins. Nairn also owned *A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons ... and Constitutions Ecclesiastical ... of the Church of England* (London, 1671) (1429) and an edition of ^{the} officially approved ~~Church of England~~ Homilies (791). Moderate Puritans also had a prominent place in the collection, pre-eminently Richard Baxter, with sixteen works represented (138-153), but also such figures as John Owen (1132-6), Joseph Caryl (306), John Howe (816-17) and William Bates (135).

As would be expected, Anglican divines are also present in force in Leighton's library: he particularly liked the works of Jeremy Taylor, having around sixteen of his works, whereas Nairn only owned two bibliographically separate items (1481-82). Gray, the Scougals and Annand also had a general tendency to favour writings by Anglican clerics.

Nairn's collection of works by Scottish churchmen, apart from biblical commentaries, was not very impressive. Here, moderates and extremists were really represented equally, which was probably due more to the

comparative dearth of printed material by Scottish episcopal apologists than to anything else, although it does show once more Nairn's wish to be representative in his collecting: the episcopalians Robert Baron (125-27), William Douglas (391A), John Forbes (607-8), William Forbes (606) and John Strang (1459) shared shelfroom with the more extreme Calvinists James Durham (543), George Gillespie (665-67, 1668/1) and Samuel Rutherford (1319-23). Even a Catholic attack on the Scottish Church was accommodated in Nairn's library, for he owned a work by the Scottish Catholic George Conn, papal agent to Henrietta Maria, entitled *De Duplici Statu Religionis Apud Scotas* (Rome, 1628) (399).

The basic doctrinal documents of the post-Reformation Scottish Church are only patchily represented in the bequest. Nairn owned the first and second Books of Discipline (Leyden? 1621) (425) but neither he nor any other owner or reader has felt it worthwhile to alter the text as directed in a list of errata. Nairn bequeathed to Edinburgh University Library none of the official pronouncements of the Westminster Assembly, neither its catechisms nor its confession of faith, although he had Gillespie on questions raised at the Assembly (667). The bequest does contain the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, a document as much political as theological, in a reissue of 1648 (1669/38), but not the 1638 Covenant, although the same pamphlet volume contains the 1581 Confession of Faith in a reissue by Charles I. This Confession was the 1638 Covenant's first part. Nairn's copy is contained in a document annulling the 1637 Service Book (1669/3), to which so many Scots objected so violently.²⁴ It is possible that the two untraced pamphlet volumes in the Nairn bequest could

have contained related material. Nairn owned the aforementioned 1637 Service Book (395), and also the Confession of Faith of 1560, in a volume which contains many continental Protestant confessions as well as the English one of 1562 (Geneva, 1654) (408).

Basic documents of the later seventeenth-century Scottish Church were also rather thin on the ground in other clerical libraries studied, although some documents may be hidden behind such generic titles as 'miscellanies', or not recorded in catalogues at all. Gray for one owned the 1581 Confession, the 1638 Covenant and the 1643 Solemn League and Covenant, as well as other related material, bound up in pamphlet volumes. Gray also owned the two Books of Discipline, as did the Scougals. The Scougals also owned both the Directory for Public Worship issued by the Westminster Assembly in 1645 and the contentious 1637 Service Book.

In general terms, it would be true to say that Protestant viewpoints outweighed Roman Catholic ones in the post-Reformation section of Nairn's theological holdings. This varies, however, from topic to topic: in the group of twenty-nine bibliographically separate works which are devoted primarily to that most important sacrament, the eucharist, or communion, twenty-seven are from Protestant writers, representing a wide range of different viewpoints, and only two are by Catholics. One of these is the work by the Jansenist Arnauld mentioned above (86). The other is by the seventeenth-century Frenchman Jacques Biroat (197). On the other hand, Nairn owned several Roman Catholic catechisms to balance the Protestant ones: representing Catholicism, the short catechism of St Peter Canisius (288), the catechism approved by the Council of Trent (326), and Luis of

Grenada's catechism (700); representing Protestantism, the catechism of the Dutch Reformed Church (325) and a Church of England catechism (423).

It is only to be expected that the collection should have contained anti-Catholic material by Protestants of many persuasions, from the earlier sixteenth century to Mairn's own times.²⁵ Most are scholarly productions, but there was also a place for more 'popular' material like the anonymous *The Anatomy of Popery* (London, 1673) (45), *Sin Dismantled, Shewing the Loathsomenesse Thereof in Laying it Open to Confession* (London, 1664) (1413), and works by the sensationalist Gregorio Leti (723, 781, 786, 1303). There was, naturally enough, also a place in the collection for intra-Catholic squabbles, especially the controversies over Jansenism and the Jesuits (e.g. 327, 837-8, 1049-50, 1090). Nevertheless, great Catholic doctrinal scholars of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation era were allowed to have their place in the collection: for instance, Bellarmine (161), Cassander (316), Becanus (155-57), Vives (1568), and Cano (287). The presence of works demonstrating various Roman Catholic opinions on the all-important question of grace and free-will has already been noted.

The collections of Mairn's fellow episcopal clerics also displayed a wide range of pro- and anti-Catholic material: even the saintly Leighton, who was criticised by William Row for having 'too great a latitude of charity towards the Papists',²⁶ owned at least four titles by Leti, although he also owned the complete works of Bellarmine and Cassander. Bellarmine is an author who also appears in the catalogues of Archdeacon Moore (*Disputationes, De Ascensione Mentis in Deum*), Gray (*Disputationes,*

De Aeterna Felicitate Sanctorum, De Septem Verbis, Conciones, De Ascensione Mentis ad Deum), Annand (*Opera, De Ascensione Mentis, and De Gemitu Columbae*), Wemyss (*Disputationes*) and the Scougals (*De Ascensione Mentis*). Annand also owned the works of Cardinal Cajetan; and Bellarmine and Pighi appear in the 1667 list of books offered for sale by the Edinburgh bookseller David Trench, alongside Calvin, Beza and Aretius.

James Kirkwood summed up the feelings of moderate later seventeenth-century Scottish clerics about the presence of works by Catholics in their libraries when he declared in print in 1702 that 'for the Library of a Divine they are convenient and necessary, that so they may be the more able to deal with the Adversary. I suppose no body of any discretion or learning will question this'.²⁷ They were also 'convenient and necessary' for institutional libraries: in William Henderson's subject index to the books in Edinburgh University Library there was certainly a section [sic] entitled 'Papists in defense of there errors',²⁸ but there was also no question of these books not being held in the library for the benefit of scholars.

On the other hand, Kirkwood also declared that Catholic works were 'not fit for weaker sort of People'²⁹ and in 1672 Catholic books and trinkets, presumably destined for a non-scholarly market, were seized by the authorities from a ship docking at Leith.³⁰ Alexander Brodie of Mains, who records the story, says that similar material seized at Newcastle was burnt: the Edinburgh consignment was merely taken to the castle on the orders of the Archbishop of St Andrews. Brodie does not record the consignment's ultimate fate. This double standard operating in

Scotland was nothing new: R. H. MacDonald in his *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* shows (pp. 101-02) the same attitudes at work in Scotland half a century and more earlier. Scholars could tap Catholic learning with impunity, but popular consumption of Catholic propaganda was strictly forbidden.

A further interesting example of Scottish clerics collecting material close to the heart of the Roman Catholic Church was the presence of liturgies in their libraries. After the rejection and withdrawal of the 1637 Scottish Service Book, a copy of which, as has been already mentioned, Nairn and the Scougals had in their libraries, the Scottish Church never again followed a set liturgy, not even between 1660 and 1688. Nevertheless, Nairn owned a breviary (Antwerp, 1638) (242), two pontificals (Paris, 1664 and 1669) (338, 1234), a missal (Paris, 1625) (1035), a ritual (Lyons, 1664) (1292), and a ceremonial (Venice, 1573) (1283). Nairn clearly was interested in the subject: he also had a Greek ritual (677).

None of the collections of his fellow clerics equalled Nairn's in this area, but there is strong evidence of widespread interest. Archbishop Leighton owned a missal, a ritual and a breviary; the library of John Gray contained two missals and a ritual; the Scougals owned a diurnal, a breviary, a ritual and an office of the Virgin; the 1690 sale catalogue of the library of William Annand lists three missals and two books of hours; James Wemyss owned a breviary; and even the partial list, dated 1672, of James Lundie's books contains a 'Missale Romanum'.

There was a tradition of collecting such works in Calvinist Scotland: Clement Lital owned a fine Sarum breviary printed in Rouen in 1496, as well as a Sarum missal; Drummond of Hawthornden owned a Cistercian breviary; and Edinburgh University Library obtained from other sources a Tridentine breviary in 1624, a ritual in 1641, and missals at various times. A pontifical printed in Venice in 1572 acquired by Edinburgh University Library in the early 1620s had already been owned by Patrick Gray of Foulis who had given it to David Lindsay of Edzell who in turn gave it to the elder Charles Lumsden, Minister of Duddingston.

The last-mentioned volume is a fine piece of printing, and it is highly likely that it was its physical appearance which attracted Gray and Lindsay to it. However, of Nairn's holdings, only the folio missal can be regarded as a superior production: the others are undistinguished, small-format items. Undoubtedly, it was the contents which attracted his scholarly interest. He also owned the important liturgiological works by Bona (219), Durandus (541) and Gavantius (643). Edinburgh University Library acquired Bona's work in 1676; and a quotation from a letter of Robert Baillie serves to show the general academic interest in the liturgy amongst Calvinists throughout Scotland in the seventeenth century. Baillie wrote to Spang on 5 April 1638:

I have made all the Colledge [Glasgow University] wryte to yow for a Rituale Romanum, Missale, Breviarium, and Pontificale. I pray yow, because I have present use of them, faile not to purchase them fair and lately printed, for we have old Sarum.³¹

The elaborate ritual of the Catholic Church was one point of criticism by the sixteenth-century reformers. More fundamental was their attack on the

elaborate theological systems built up during the later Middle Ages which in their eyes obscured rather than elucidated Holy Writ. Pre-eminent amongst those mediaeval scholastic theologians was the thirteenth-century Dominican Thomas Aquinas; the earlier figure of Peter Lombard and the later figures of William of Ockham and Duns Scotus were also highly important.

The authority of these figures was certainly undermined in countries where the reformers were successful, and in no country more than Scotland, but even here the works of Aquinas, the other scholastics and their followers did not disappear from scholarly libraries. Edinburgh University Library was acquiring works of Aquinas and Thomists, Duns Scotus, Ockham and other late mediaeval theologians throughout its first century, while Nairn's holdings in particular, over one hundred years after the overthrow of the Catholic Church in Scotland, show continued interest.

The bequest does not contain Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*, although Nairn had biblical commentaries by Aquinas, as well as the *Contra Gentiles* (65-67). However, it does contain commentaries and interpretative works on the *Summa*, often very elaborate and of immense length, and containing sizeable proportions of ~~of~~ Aquinas's text, by post-Reformation Catholic theologians. Examples are works by Arriaga (74), Coninck (404), Cumel (439), Oviedo (1140), Ruiz de Montoya (1317), Salas (1328), Vazquez (1547), and Ysambertus (1652). All these works in the editions owned by Nairn were printed between 1600 and 1655 and all are in folio, the Arriaga, Vazquez and Ysambertus in several volumes: they must have represented a considerable outlay of funds by Nairn, even if the majority of them were

~~no doubt~~ acquired second-hand, unless of course they were a gift. Also largely second-hand were his holdings of works on the *Sentences*, by the mediaeval theologians Gabriel Biel (190), St Bonaventura (224), Dionysius Carthusianus (502), Durandus of Saint-Pourçain, (540) and Duns Scotus (1376), the slightly later John Major (974) and the more recent Gulielmus Estius (568) and Philippus Faber (578). All Nairn's editions, apart from the Estius, were printed between 1519 and 1580: the Estius was printed in 1638.

Do the imprint dates of all these works of scholastic theology mean that Nairn acquired them relatively early in his career? Gilbert Burnet records how as a young man he

went thro severall bodies of School Divinity, and read above twenty volumes in folio of these wrippers [sic] and grew fond of them. This heightned my vanity and brought me into a false way of reasoning and everlasting wrangling which made me despise and triumph over all who had not suffered themselves to be entangled with that cobweb stuffe.³²

One of the items which Burnet gave to the parish library at Saltoun when he demitted office in 1669 was five volumes of a commentary on the third part of the *Summa* (Mainz, 1617) by the Spanish Jesuit Francisco de Suarez. It would be interesting to know in what spirit Burnet made that particular gift. It joined a copy of a recent edition of the *Summa* (Cologne, 1640) already in the parish library. However, where Nairn was concerned, his interest in scholastic theology must have continued at least into his thirties: this is demonstrated by the imprints of two general works on the subject by François Crespin (six volumes in three, 2° Antwerp, 1662) (221) and Martin Becanus (2° Paris, 1658) (155). Another general work in Nairn's collection on Burnet's 'cobweb stuffe', equally bulky, was an

earlier imprint, a work by the Jesuit Adam Tanner (four volumes, 2° Ingolstadt, 1626-27) (1477). Once again, unless a gift, these vast works must have cost Nairn a lot of money.

It is not possible to be accurate about acquisition dates for all these works: it may well have been that the whole collection was acquired late in Nairn's life. Whenever and however acquired, their size and bulk must have involved a strong commitment to collect in this field, quite likely involving disbursement of considerable sums. This said, however, it must also be pointed out that there is no edition of Lombard's *Sentences* themselves in the collection outside the commentaries on them, while Ockham is only represented in an appendix to a work by a more recent author (690), on a subject in which Nairn was particularly interested, state/church relations. Duns Scotus is only represented by the one work already mentioned, although it is a major one, and Nairn also owned a work on Scotism (1231), printed in Lyons in 1671, and another, printed in Cologne in 1620, on the conflict between Scotism and Thomism (1250).

Here, Nairn was at the end of a long collecting tradition in Scotland, one exemplified a hundred years previously by Clement Lital who also possessed works by Aquinas, Biel, Bonaventura, Dionysius Carthusianus, Durandus and Major, as well as by Ockham and Duns Scotus. Even so, Nairn was far from being alone amongst his clerical contemporaries in collecting such works, although none quite matched him in scale. Leighton, whose library was nearest in size to Nairn's, had the *Summa Theologica* and *Opuscula* of Aquinas; but no other relevant authors represented in Nairn's library appear in his holograph catalogue apart from Dionysius

Carthusianus on the *Sentences*. Annand also owned the *Summa* and *Opuscula* of Aquinas, as well as his *Catena Aurea*; the Scougals owned the *Sentences*, Durandus's *Summa Theologica* and several items by Dionysius Carthusianus, including his complete works; Gray had the *Sentences* and Aquinas's complete works; Lundie owned the *Sentences*; and Moore owned Estius on the *Sentences*, a work by Joannes de Rada on disputes between Aquinas and Duns Scotus over the *Sentences*, and Becanus on scholastic theology. Most assiduous in this field was James Wemyss, who apart from having Aquinas's *Summa*, *Opuscula* and *Catena Aurea* and Lombard's *Sentences*, had Suarez, Ruiz and Arriaga on the *Summa*, Estius on the *Sentences* and Crespín and Becanus on general scholastic theology.

The sixteenth-century reformers felt strongly that the late mediaeval theologians obscured the purer authority and the more fundamentally important doctrinal arguments and discussions of the early Christian Church Fathers. The very great importance attached by Scots after the Reformation to the writings of the earlier Christian apologists can be shown in an examination of any substantial library: for example, from the founding bequest of Clement Lill, who was not a cleric, Edinburgh University Library acquired the complete works of Augustine, John Chrysostom, Cyprian, Eusebius, John of Damascus, Jerome, Justin Martyr and Tertullian, and a selection of works of Basil the Great. From another layman, Drummond of Hawthornden, the same institution acquired works by Augustine, John of Damascus, Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory of Nazianzus and Ignatius of Antioch. From other donors, and by purchase, complete editions, or at least editions of some works, of the same and other Church

Fathers came to Edinburgh University throughout the Library's first hundred years.

Nairn's bequest added further editions to the university collections, for he owned the complete works of Ambrose (38), Athanasius (99), Basil the Great (133), John Cassian (317), John Chrysostom (354), Clement of Alexandria (376), Cyprian (445-6), Dionysius the Areopagite (501), Gregory the Great (707), Gregory of Nazianzus (709), Gregory of Nyssa (710), Jerome (767), Justin Martyr (868), Lactantius (900), Tertullian (1486), and Theodoret (1493-95), as well as a selection of works by Arnobius Afer (84), Arnobius the Younger (85), Eusebius (571-3), Irenaeus of Lyons (859), John of Damascus (469), Hilary of Poitiers (769), Ignatius of Antioch (841), Minucius Felix (1032), Optatus of Mela (1121), Origen (1122-23), and Prosper of Aquitaine (1243). Other books in the library contained further selections, and further authors (545, 737, 790, 924, 1494).

Nairn's interest was fully shared by clerical contemporaries. Burnet says of Leighton that 'he had read the fathers so exactly that I never happened to talk with him of any particular relating to ecclesiastical learning, but he was as ready at it as if he had just come from studying it'.³³ Leighton in the early 1660s also advised Burnet 'to read all the Apologies and the short Treatises of the Fathers of the first 3 centuries, which I did very carefully'.³⁴ A glance at the first two folios of Leighton's holograph catalogue gives a good impression of the great holdings he possessed: 'patres Graeci' - Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Athanasius, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Epiphanius,

Cyril of Alexandria, Ephraim Syrus, Theodoret, and other lesser figures; 'latini' - Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Gregory the Great. The names of other early Christian writers appear on subsequent pages of the catalogue. Gray also owned a fine collection of patristic writings; the collections of Annand, Wemyss and the Scougals were more modest but still representative.

Before outlining Nairn's collection of Bibles, biblical studies and commentaries, the extent of his holdings of works on ecclesiastical history, both anthologies of documents and interpretative works of widely varying objectivity, should be recorded. These range from the lives of the Fathers (333, 644, 658, 757, 946, 1314, 1434), the proceedings and decisions of church councils from the earliest times, a particularly fine group,³⁵ and histories of aspects of the early mediaeval church (430, 571, 952, 1426, 1559), through to general church histories (679, 1187, 1345, 1474), biographical works on the popes and historical discussions on the papacy (226, 401, 779, 1212, 1282), general biographical works on the sixteenth-century reformers (14, 14A), biographies of individual Protestant and Catholic theologians (680 - St Charles Borromeo; 252B - Robert Rollock; 744 - Henry Hammond; 1352 - Paolo Sarpi), and works on aspects of the ecclesiastical history of individual countries. The eclecticism of approach and variety of languages and imprints in the collection is nicely demonstrated in several works on the Council of Trent: two items, the first a French translation of part of the second, itself a Latin translation of the Italian original, were by the pro-papal Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino (569, 1143); a third is an English translation (Oxford, 1638)

of a work by the Gallican Guillaume Ranchin (1257); and two others, the same work in French and Italian, were by the anti-papal Venetian Paolo Sarpi (1348-49).

Sarpi was at the centre of a dispute over ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the Venetians and the Pope Paul V in the early seventeenth century. There are five works, in English, French and Italian, on this subject in Nairn's library, not counting Sarpi's biography already mentioned (773, 777, 1197, 1350-51), and these demonstrate his interest in the relationship between civil and ecclesiastical power, an interest also demonstrated in his ownership of various concordats between the French kings and the papacy (8, 402, 1239). More theoretical works on this vexed question will be discussed in chapter seven below. Sarpi's career was followed with great interest in England: his *History of the Council of Trent* was first issued in London in 1619, and Sarpi evidently spoke occasionally of retiring to England. He also expressed admiration of the English prayer book. This ecumenical dimension was very likely another reason for Nairn's interest in Sarpi.

Nairn's collection of works on the church history of his own country was representative rather than exhaustive. It included the second edition of Archbishop Spottiswoode's general *History* (London, 1666) (1435), and Bishop David Lindsay's account (London, 1621) of the 1618 General Assembly which instituted articles of ecclesiastical procedures, for example kneeling at Communion, repugnant to strict Calvinists (944). As a foil to these pro-episcopal works, the library also contained the *Acts of the General Assemblies* from 1638 and 1649 (9) which destroyed the Caroline

ecclesiastical structure, and a volume containing seven pamphlets, printed between 1639 and 1649, presenting Covenanting views on current ecclesiastical events (1668).³⁶

The church history collections of Nairn's episcopal colleagues had their own strengths. Leighton, for instance, had the general ecclesiastical history produced by Lutheran Centuriators of Magdeburg, as well as two epitomes, by Bisciola and Spondanus, of Cardinal Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici*, written as a response to the Centuriators. He also owned a continuation of Baronius by Spondanus, as well as the *Epitome Historiae Ecclesiasticae* of the Lutheran Luke Osiander. None of these is found in the Nairn bequest. Moore's collection of works on church history was very poor, but Gray's library included Spottiswoode (first and third editions), Osiander, an abridgement of Baronius in ten volumes, and several other titles. The Scougals owned Baronius in seven volumes, the Magdeburg Centuriators in eight volumes, and Osiander in two volumes.

* * * * *

It was stressed at the beginning of this chapter how deeply Scotsmen in the seventeenth century knew their Bible. Burnet mentions how as a young man under Nairn's direction he 'read the Scripture with great application and got a great deal of it by heart'. He says of Nairn that 'he had made him selfe master of the Scriptures'.³⁷ It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Nairn had a good collection of Bibles, commentaries, and ancillary works: of the 1041 items reckoned by me to be best grouped in the theological section of Nairn's collection, 217 or 20.76% can be regarded as primarily concerned with the Bible and its study. It should also be

remembered that the presence of biblical commentaries in the collected works of theologians from the Fathers onwards swells the relevant material in the library considerably.

The 1678 catalogue of Nairn's library lists seven Bibles and six New Testaments, although one each of the Bibles and Testaments (184, 1488) were gifts to Edinburgh University Library made in 1673. The range of languages and versions is wide and worth noting in detail. The six Bibles in the bequest are as follows: one volume (volume seven) of Arias Montanus's Polyglot Bible printed by Plantin at Antwerp in the 1570s (172), which contained the Hebrew Old Testament with an interlinear Latin translation and an edition of the Greek New Testament also with an interlinear Latin translation; a Latin Vulgate of 1546 printed by Robert Estienne, which is both a monument of typography and of biblical scholarship (183); a revised Vulgate edited by Oslander (Frankfurt, 1618) (187) and a Clementine Vulgate (Paris, 1653) (188); an English Authorised Version (Cambridge, 1668, 1666), previously owned by Lord Wemyss (189); and Diodati's Italian Bible, second edition (Geneva, 1641) (185). The New Testaments comprise an edition in Latin, Greek, and German (Hamburg, 1596) (186), an edition in Greek and Latin (that of Beza with notes by Camerarius (Cambridge, 1642) (178)), in Greek (an edition by the Arminian scholar Courcelles (Amsterdam, 1675) (1489)), in French (a fourth edition of the Mons New Testament, translated by the Jansenists (1490)), and in English. This last was the Roman Catholic Rheims translation in an edition with critical comments by the Puritan William Fulke (London, 1601)

which also included the English version officially approved by the Church of England at that time (1487).

This collection, even when it is remembered that Nairn also owned separate editions of certain sections and single books of the Bible, as well as text embedded in commentaries, should not be regarded as exceptionally large by the standards of the day for a serious scholar of divinity in Scotland: Leighton had the six volumes of the Walton Polyglot (London, 1657) and versions in Greek, Latin (various editions), Italian, Spanish, French, and English, as well as the Old Testament in Hebrew (in more than one edition), and New Testaments in Syriac, Greek and other languages. As stated at the outset of this chapter, all aspirant ministers at this time in Scotland, if they wanted to be in charge of a parish, had to know their Bible intimately, and have knowledge of it in the original tongues.

There seems little point in demonstrating that Scottish ministers in the seventeenth century were interested in biblical criticism and elucidation and in general biblical studies through an examination of their libraries: the interest of the profession in the subject is axiomatic. All their sermons depended on their knowledge of the Bible; and a considerable number wrote more formal works of biblical exegesis themselves, including Leighton, Dickson, Rutherford, and Durham. All the clerical libraries studied by me for theological material to compare with Nairn's holdings were strong in biblical commentaries, although individual interests naturally varied. It is of most interest here to concentrate on Nairn's collection, to examine in detail what one particularly dedicated

scholarly Scottish seventeenth-century parish minister was able to amass in his library.

Sixty-three works in Nairn's library are studies of parts of the Old Testament (including the Apocrypha) or comprise the text or paraphrase of an Old Testament book or books. Eighty-three are studies of all or part of the New Testament, or are texts of part of the New Testament, and fifty-eight are studies of the whole Bible, or of sections chosen from throughout the Bible, or are works on biblical philology or other aspect of biblical background. As stated in the introduction to part two of this thesis, general works on the Hebrew language (only six in number) have been regarded here as works of biblical philology as the great majority of works in Nairn's library containing sizeable Hebrew texts are biblical or biblically related.

The Old Testament book with the greatest number of works (thirteen) devoted to it, either containing text alone, or a paraphrase, metrical or otherwise, or a commentary, is the Psalms. This is perfectly understandable, given the book's importance. Burnet narrates how, when Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, 1669-1673, he expounded each Thursday 'a Psalm in Hebrew, comparing it with the 70, the vulgar and our version and explaining the meaning of it'.³⁸ This was designed to be a preparation for the trials of the expectant minister, when, to quote Burnet again, 'an Hebrew Psalm is given them to expound'.³⁹ Two items in Nairn's collection (1300-01) are indeed the text in Hebrew, prepared by a Scot, William Robertson, but as they were printed in London in 1656 they were too recent to be used in Nairn's own trials. They may of course have been used by

him when he was an examiner himself. A third item, printed in 1664 (269), is an analysis of the Hebrew text.

The Epistles figure very prominently in the New Testament section of Nairn's holdings, with forty-five items devoted to them, compared with twenty-three devoted to the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, and five devoted to Revelation: Nairn's surviving Wemyss sermons all deal with texts from the Epistles; and the sermon, possibly by Nairn, preserved in the Bodleian Library, is on a text from I Peter.

As with the other theological sections of Nairn's library, the authors of the biblical commentaries and studies represent many different theological viewpoints. The majority, not surprisingly, are Protestant, but there are also monuments to Roman Catholic scholarship: the complete commentaries of Cornelius à Lapide (905-914, 914A), and others by Arias Montanus (87-89), Joannes Ferus (595-98), Gulielmus Estius (567), Antoine Godeau (683-86) and Joannes de Pineda (1203-04), for example. The theological opinions of the Protestant commentators could hardly be more varied. Scots writers include the episcopalian Patrick Forbes (608) and Alexander Colville (391) as well as the presbyterians James Durham (542), George Hutcheson (826), James Ferguson (591), Alexander Nisbet (1109), and Nairn's own Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, David Dickson (494-95). There is also a fine selection of the commentaries of the earlier scholar, and first Principal of Edinburgh University, Robert Rollock (1305-12).

Church of England divines likewise cover a wide spectrum of seventeenth-century Anglican thought, from John Cosin (416), Thomas Lushington (963), Brian Walton (1605-06) and Richard Montagu (1046) at

the 'high' end, through Edward Reynolds (1285) and James Usher (1541), to the 'low' John Lightfoot (939-42) and John Rainolds (1252). English divines outside the episcopal church include Hugh Broughton (250), Thomas Cartwright (302-03, 305), John Owen (1133, 1135) and Matthew Poole (1222). Contemporary French Protestant divines represented include the already mentioned Jean Daillé (461, 463-67, 465A, 466A), Jean de Nestrezat (1025) and Michel le Faucheur (585); and of seventeenth-century Dutch Calvinists in the collection, the strict Rivet (1297) and Daneau (471-72) complement the Arminian Drusius (534-38, 534A, 538A) and the unorthodox theologian Cocceius (383). Although, as already stated, the Hain bequest contained nothing by Calvin and only one item by Luther, biblical works by other founders of Protestantism are not omitted: Melanchthon (1009), Oecolampadius (1117), Bullinger (258), Aretius (70-71), Peter Martyr (992-94), and Musculus (1008-09).

The works on biblical background cover many aspects: for example, chronology (e.g. 1625), geography (e.g. 260), natural history (e.g. 922, 1538, 1542), a bibliography of printed editions and commentaries (434), proper names, coins, weights and measures (930). Most numerous, however, are the philological works, over thirty in number and covering many particular topics. Some discuss Hebrew, Aramaic and the other Near Eastern languages used in Old Testament versions (815, 931-32, 1325); others discuss the Septuagint (883, 1063, 1541, 1598), the Greek New Testament (347, 639, 1162), Hebraisms in the New Testament (538A, 929, 1584), the Vulgate (36), and translations into French (482) and English (302, 650-51). This section includes the highly important study by Caspar

Vyss, his *Dialectologia Sacra* (Zurich, 1650) (1649), and Konrad Kircher's concordance to the Septuagint (Frankfurt, 1607) (883). Other major philologists of the Bible represented include Pasor (1161-62), Drusius (538A), Gataker (639), Johannes Vorstius (1584) and Jan Leusden (929-32). Further philological studies are of course represented in the library in works on individual books or sections of the Old or New Testament or are embedded in more general commentaries.

General studies of the Hebrew language are not particularly well represented in the Nairn bequest: one dictionary (1522), and five grammars or general philological works (37, 37A, 268, 877, 1315). All have imprint dates of 1645 or earlier. This might suggest that he owned most of them as a student: Hebrew would have been introduced in the third year of his M.A. course, and studied in much greater depth in his divinity studies in the early 1650s. He may well have used the items as a student, but the imprint dates on his copies of the Hebrew Psalms and on editions of works on Hebrew philology directly related to the Bible (e.g. 929 - 1670; 931 - 1668; 932 - 1674; 1584 - 1658) demonstrate adult interest, even if strictly limited in scope to what may be described as his professional obligations. Nairn's holdings in this area pale into insignificance when compared with the great holdings of Robert Leighton in Hebrew and related languages and on rabbinic studies.⁴⁰ Burnet said of Leighton that 'he had the Hebrew very well, so that I have met with many curious criticisms from him which I have found never in any author'.⁴¹

Other clerical libraries studied were more akin to Nairn's in the size of their Hebraica than to Leighton's holdings. Productions by the Buxtorfs

are usually prominent. Mairn had none of the sacred books of the Jews, apart from a section of the Mishnah, in Hebrew with a Latin translation, on civil law (547). This was printed in Leyden in 1637, and may have been acquired when ^{Nairn was} a student. However, Mairn also owned one secondary work on Jewish theological scholarship (1127), another on Jewish sects (533), one on sacrifices (1141), and a fourth on divination (1432), all but one (533) printed after 1669. Eight more general works on aspects of Jewish civilisation and five others covering aspects of Jewish law are also in the bequest; these will be discussed below in chapter seven. All these items could however be regarded as ancillary to Mairn's collection of works on the Bible. Another group of works which could equally be regarded as ancillary are five items on various ancient Near Eastern religions (1194, 1392, 1463, 1586, 1634).

No work devoted to outlining any other living religion is to be found in the bequest although there are certainly accounts included in more general geographical and historical works. Mairn's ownership of the 'Oracula Chaldaica' attributed to Zoroaster, appearing in a collection with the title *Magia Philosophica* (758), is more appropriately discussed with allied philosophical works in the next chapter of this thesis. In similar spirit, Leighton also owned a work printing oracles attributed to Zoroaster bound up in a volume containing oracles of Jupiter, Apollo, Hecate and Serapis, and also Sybilline oracles.

More to the purpose of this chapter, Mairn owned a Koran in Latin (Zurich, 1550) (26), while Leighton had the first Latin printing of the same work, Basle, 1543, as well as the French translation of the *Sieur du*

Ryer. John Gray also owned the Ryer translation, while William Annand owned the English translation of this French version printed in London in 1649. This particular demonstration of intellectual curiosity in the library of a Scottish cleric was no new thing: Glasgow University Library had acquired Bishop Adam Bothwell's copy earlier in the century.⁴² At least one Scottish layman contemporary with Nairn read the Koran: Alexander Brodie of Brodie noted in his diary on 7 September 1661 how 'I read much of the Turk's Alcoran, but saw nothing to stagger me, or to seduc [sic].'⁴³ He was probably reading the English version, a copy of which, incidentally, Edinburgh University Library bought in 1669.

* * * * *

The final section of this chapter is a detailed analysis of the places of origin, dates and languages of items in the theological sections of Nairn's library, designed to serve as a case study to show the range of imprints and languages present in libraries in Restoration Scotland and identify certain trends. The section will be divided into three parts: works by and about pre-Reformation Christian theologians; works primarily concerned with the Bible and its study; and the rest, covering mainly Reformation and post-Reformation theology, but also incorporating general ecclesiastical history and non-Christian theological material. The last will be taken first.

Here there is a perfectly understandable bias towards books produced in countries which by the mid-seventeenth century were wholly or predominantly Protestant. Of the 713 works so defined whose country of

origin is known either definitely or with a high degree of probability (three works cannot be assigned to any country with any accuracy), 569 or 79.80% come from Great Britain and Ireland, the United Provinces, Switzerland, and the Holy Roman Empire.⁴⁴

The breakdown into individual countries can be expressed in tabular form:

England	307 (43.06%)
Scotland	22 (3.09%)
Ireland	3 (0.42%)
France	112 (15.71%)
United Provinces	105 (14.73%)
Holy Roman Empire	73 (10.24%)
Switzerland	60 (8.42%)
Spanish Netherlands	18 (2.52%)
Italy	12 (1.68%)
Portugal	1 (0.14%)

The pre-eminence of English presses can be seen, a demonstration both of the strength of the connections between Scottish and English booksellers and also of Nairn's partiality to the works of English theologians. The amount of French theological material in the collection is explained by the fact that many works were produced by reformed clerics. The number of Dutch imprints is hardly surprising. Scotland's twenty-two items are an indictment more of the inability of its presses to satisfy the needs of its theological authors and collectors than of Nairn's lack of interest in theological works by Scots, although his interest, as has been demonstrated, was far less than that for the works of English theologians.

An examination of the post-1649 imprints is also informative: 333 or 46.51% of the 716 come into this category, and of these, all of which can be assigned to a definite country of origin, 280 or 84.08% are from

Protestant or mainly Protestant countries. This in itself is not a particularly significant increase from the whole sample (79.80%). However, from an investigation of individual countries within the group it is obvious that one country in particular was providing an increasing proportion of items at the expense of others:

England	191 (57.36%)
Scotland	11 (3.30%)
Ireland	2 (0.36%)
United Provinces	48 (14.41%)
France	47 (14.11%)
Switzerland	15 (4.50%)
Holy Roman Empire	14 (4.20%)
Spanish Netherlands	4 (1.20%)
Italy	1 (0.30%)

Even more than with the whole sample, therefore, the number of English imprints is an indication both of the strength of the output of the English presses in the Scottish theological market in the later seventeenth century and of Nairn's particular liking for works by Anglicans. The buoyancy of the representation of the United Provinces is also to be expected, as is the decline of the Holy Roman Empire, because the Empire had particularly suffered from the effects of the Thirty Years War. The Scottish eleven demonstrate a small increase on her showing on the whole sample, but hardly a significant one.


If the 716 items ^{are studied} linguistically, 342 or 47.77% are in Latin or Latin with another language, eighty-five or 11.87% are in French or French with another modern language, 281 or 39.25% in English, and eight or 1.12% in Italian. This is the only section of Nairn's library studied statistically where the proportion of all items in Latin is less than fifty percent: the low proportion is an indication of the popular appeal of

theological works of all kinds. The section nearest to it is history and geography, where items in Latin constitute 68.64%.

Of the 333 post-1649 imprints, the corresponding figures for the languages of items are as follows: Latin, 101 or 30.33%; French, forty-nine or 14.71%; English, 179 or 53.75%; Italian, four or 1.20%. There is a clear indication here of Latin being in a decline, in this case largely being replaced by items in English. Use of Latin, in under a third of the items, is far lower in this sample than any other post-1649 section studied statistically, the nearest being history and geography with 53.85%.

If the Bibles, New Testaments, texts of parts of the Bible and biblical commentaries and studies are examined by imprint, 166 or 76.50% of the 217 relevant items are from Protestant or predominantly Protestant areas, a proportion not all that different to the relevant percentage in the section analysed above. The whole geographical spread is, however, more even:

England	47 (21.66%)
Scotland	13 (5.60%)
Switzerland	40 (18.43%)
United Provinces	39 (17.97%)
France	28 (12.90%)
Holy Roman Empire	27 (12.44%)
Spanish Netherlands	21 (9.68%)
Italy	2 (0.92%)

This spread is some indication of the ecumenical nature of biblical studies but also, when compared  with the imprint percentages of non-biblical theological material analysed above, a reflection of the particular interest in biblical studies by theologians in countries where Calvinist doctrines flourished most.

Ninety-three of the 217 items, or 42.86%, in the biblical section were printed after 1649, once more a percentage not very different to that of pre-1650/post-1649 items in the section analysed above. Of these ninety-three items, seventy-three, or 78.49%, were from the Protestant areas, once again a percentage not very different to the general theology section analysed already. England was gaining ground here too but not nearly as much as in the general post-1517 theology section. The other numbers involved are perhaps dangerously low for statistical purposes but in fact do not seem to be distorted, with the single exception of the Spanish Netherlands:

England	31 (33.33%)
Scotland	5 (5.38%)
United Provinces	20 (21.51%)
Spanish Netherlands	11 (11.83%)
France	9 (9.68%)
Holy Roman Empire	9 (9.68%)
Switzerland	8 (8.60%)

The figure for the Spanish Netherlands is caused by the presence of the commentaries of Cornelius à Lapide, constituting no less than nine of the eleven items concerned.

Linguistically, the biblical section shows a high proportion of material in Latin, or in Latin with another language, as well as the only two items in the library wholly in Hebrew and two of the three items in the library wholly in Greek. These four items are all biblical texts. The comparative dearth of vernaculars is hardly surprising, given the scholarly and international market of such material. Only fifty-three of the 217 items in this section, or 24.42%, are primarily in French or English: French has nineteen items (8.76%) and English thirty-four

(15.67%). One other item is in Italian (0.46%). Of the ninety-three post-1649 imprints, the proportion in modern vernaculars has increased to 36.60% (thirty-four items), an appreciable but hardly dramatic increase. None is in Italian; thirteen (13.98%) are in French and twenty-one (22.58%) in English.

The last theological section to be analysed is that concerning pre-Reformation Christian theology. This shows great contrasts in trends to the other theological sections. Only just over a quarter (25.49%) of the relevant items (twenty-six out of 102) were printed after 1649. It is clear that in this area the second-hand market was able to supply a higher proportion of Nairn's needs. Catholic France provided the most, ~~number~~ with forty-four of the 102, or 43.14%. The Holy Roman Empire was next, a long way behind, with twenty-three (22.55%). Switzerland provided eleven (10.78%); Italy seven or 6.86%; the Spanish Netherlands and England six (5.88%) each; and the United Provinces five or 4.90%. Scotland supplied not one item. These figures show not only that countries which were inclined to the more extreme forms of Calvinism clearly disliked propagating medieval scholastic theology but also that the Church Fathers, of crucial importance to Protestant and Roman Catholic alike, found their editors and printers early on the continent of Europe.

For the twenty-six post-1649 items France still leads the field with eleven items (42.31%), a continued pre-eminence only to be expected. However, England is now next with 23.05%: all its six items are post-1649. Five of these concern the writings of the Church Fathers: the sixth is Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*. The Holy Roman Empire has

declined to three items (11.54%), Switzerland to two items (7.70%), Italy to one (3.85%) and the Spanish Netherlands has disappeared altogether. The United Provinces is the only other country apart from England to supply a higher proportion of items than in the whole sample: three (11.54%) originated from there. Figures are dangerously small in this sample, but even here the importance of new imprints from England and Holland in the Scottish market show through.

Latin is naturally paramount in this section on patristics and scholastic theology: no less than ninety-five of the 102 items, or 93.14%, are in Latin or Latin with another language. Latin lost ground in the post-1649 sample but still represented 80.77% (twenty-one out of twenty-six items). All the three items in English are post-1649: two items in French are pre-1650 and two others post-1649. Even in this bastion of scholarly Latinity therefore there are glimmers of the rise of the vernacular.

* * * * *

This chapter has shown the very wide range of theological material in Nairn's collection. Naturally, he had his particular preferences, devotional works being the most striking; and there were also areas in which he was not particularly interested. However, overall, there was no sense of narrowmindedness in Nairn's theological collecting or in that of his clerical fellows: they were open to many different theological influences, emanating from many different parts of Europe, and were able to collect with a freedom and vigour confined only by personal taste, market availability and financial considerations. The significant patterns

in the origins and languages of books which are discernible in Nairn's theological collecting activities were the results of such considerations: there was no censorship imposed from outside. This intellectual freedom is even more marked in the next section of Nairn's library to be investigated, philosophy and science.

Chapter 5. Philosophy, Psychology, Science and Medicine in the Library of James Nairn, with Some Comparisons

Nairn's theological holdings and those of other clerics are primarily of interest because they provide an insight into the professional tastes of the conforming clergy in Restoration Scotland. Nairn's holdings of works on non-theological subjects provide insight into his non-professional scholarly interests. His varied interests in collecting in secular subjects can be compared and contrasted with those of contemporaries to show what trends in European thought Scottish clerics were responding to in this period.

Of all the non-theological subjects in Nairn's library, philosophy was nearest to his professional concerns. Metaphysics is very close indeed to theology, as is ethics, which, in its examination of good works and the upright life, impinged on theological concepts much in dispute in seventeenth-century Europe, as has been seen in ~~the~~ the previous chapter. The closeness of philosophy to theology is shown in such titles in Nairn's collection as *Philosophia Theologiae Ancillans* (125), *Axiomata Philosophico-Theologica* (173), *Celebriorum Distinctionum tum Philosophicarum tum Theologicarum Synopsis* (320), *Philosophiae Christianae de Anima Libri Quatuor* (616), *Philosophia Pia, or, a Discourse of the Religious Temper, and Tendencies of the Experimental Philosophy* (674), or even *Christian Astrology* (943).

The penultimate title, with the words 'experimental philosophy', deals with what today would be termed a pure science; the last title involves what today would be regarded as a pseudo-science. However, as mentioned in the introduction to part two of this thesis, the modern separate concepts of philosophy, science and pseudo-science simply did not exist in the seventeenth century; and medicine too was interknit with philosophical and scientific researches, in particular with chemistry, alchemy, botany, psychology and astrology. The sections of this chapter, although arranged according to twentieth-century notions of subject division, are interlocking and interdependent. All subjects treated here were of deep interest to the theologian: the processes, phenomena, malfunctions and faults of the natural world, with Man at its centre, were manifestations of the design of its divine Creator.

Nairn's studies at Edinburgh University centred upon philosophy. Its pre-eminence is shown in a curriculum drawn up in 1628.¹ In a student's first year the studies were mainly concerned with proficiency in Greek, although Ramus on logic is also mentioned as a textbook to be used. The second year began with Greek and continued with rhetoric, but the study of Aristotle also commenced in this session:

In the beginning of January Aristotle's *Organon* is begun to be taught, beginning at Porphyry's *Isagoge* [that is an epitome of Aristotle's theories on logic]; and in that year are taught the books of the Categories on the Interpretation of the Prior Analytics, the first second and eight of the Topics and the two books of the Sophistics.²

Arithmetic was also started. The *Organon* was mainly concerned with logic, but also touched on metaphysics, which were thus incorporated into the curriculum at this stage.³

In the third year, logic, metaphysics and rhetoric continued; and Hebrew, ethics, physics, basic anatomy, and elementary divinity began. The ethics, physics and anatomy were also purely Aristotelian, as were the courses on meteorology, astronomy and biology which took up much of the last year of study along with more metaphysics (the work studied was Aristotle's *De Anima*), geography and divinity. Aristotle, therefore, had the philosophical monopoly at Edinburgh University in Nairn's day, apart from Ramus in the very first stages in logic.

Nairn's holdings of Aristotle as represented in the bequest were very poor indeed: two editions of the *Historia Animalium* (75-76), the latter also containing the supposititious *De Plantis*, and a French translation of the *Rhetorica* (Paris, 1675) (77). His holdings interpreting Aristotle's thought are far more numerous. Some, from their imprint dates, could not have been used by Nairn when a student at Edinburgh University, but others could well have been. Examples of the latter are *Axiomata Philosophica ... ex Aristotele & aliis ... Philosophis ... Collecta* (Geneva, 1631) (158), Burgersdijck's *Institutionum Logicarum Libri Duo* (Leyden, 1626) (261), Keckermann's *Systema Logicae* (1603) (875), G. Rutgers's *Metaphysica* (Oppenheim, 1610) (1318), two works by Christoph Scheibler (Geneva, 1636 and Oxford, 1639) (1364, 1366), and Francisco Suarez on metaphysics (Paris, 1619) (1465). Post-1649 examples are Arriaga's *Cursus Philosophicus* (Lyons, 1653) (73), François Crespín's commentary on Aristotle (Brussels, 1652) (222), and three works by David Dérodon (487-89). None of Nairn's holdings expounding Aristotelian philosophy were printed after 1660, with the exception of one of the Dérodon items (1664).

This may mean that Nairn tired of collecting Aristotelian works after 1660, but it is not possible to prove this. On the other hand, despite the smallness of the sample, the pattern of imprints can be regarded as an undoubted manifestation of the decline in the influence of Aristotelianism in European thought in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Finally, it should be noted that Nairn, in possessing the general commentaries on the *Summa* by Vazquez and Ysambertus (1547, 1652) mentioned in the last chapter, had further works expounding Aristotelianism, for it was St Thomas Aquinas who reconciled Aristotelian philosophy with Christian theology. These works in the editions owned by Nairn also have imprint dates before 1650.

As the rediscovery of Aristotle was a development of the thirteenth century, so a feature of the fifteenth century, primarily in Italy, was a reinvestigation of the philosophy of Plato and a championing of it at the expense of that of Aristotle. Nairn owned Plato's complete works in the Latin translation of one of the greatest of the fifteenth-century Florentine humanists, Marsilio Ficino, in a revised version printed in Lyons in 1557 (1213). Burnet records Nairn's interest in Plato, stating that Nairn in the early 1660s 'recomended [sic] also the reading of Plato and the Platonists and here I found a noble entertainment'.⁴

As has been demonstrated in chapters two and four above, Nairn was deeply interested in personal religion and in the spiritual quest of the soul. The philosophy of Plato, with its stress on the individual's personal search for fulfilment and the striving for the good, had, therefore, a very understandable appeal. This side of Plato's thought was

developed in the centuries after his death by authors absorbing elements from various religions, including Judaism and Christianity. Nairn's library contains the complete works of one of the greatest of these neo-Platonists, Plotinus (c.205-270A.D.), in Latin, once more edited by Ficino (1219); and other important pagan neo-Platonists of the first Christian centuries represented are Maximus of Tyre (c.125-85) (1537), Iamblichus of Chalcis (c.250-330), Proclus (410-485), and Porphyry (c.233-304) (832-33). Neo-Platonic ideas on the soul were also absorbed by early Christian writers, notably Augustine, Dionysius the Areopagite and, later, St John Climacus, all, as mentioned in the last chapter, represented by their complete works in Nairn's collection (102, 501, 378).

The influence of the neo-Platonists on Christian thinkers was strong once more during and after the Renaissance, and never more so than in that circle of seventeenth-century English Anglican philosophers and theologians, already mentioned more than once, whose generic title of 'the Cambridge Platonists' demonstrates unequivocally their absorption of Platonic ideas via Plato's later interpreters, and whose influence upon Nairn appears to have been profound. Theological works by members of the group in Nairn's library have been mentioned in the last chapter; Henry More's *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*, second edition (London, 1662) (1054) and a literary work, More's first appearance in print, *Ψυχωδία Platonica, or, A Platonicall Song of the Soul, Consisting of Foure Severalle Poems* (Cambridge, 1642) (1060) should be noted here.

Nairn, however, showed his usual broadmindedness in also possessing the highly critical *Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick*

Philosophie, second edition (Oxford, 1667) (1159) by the contemporary Anglican divine, Samuel Parker. This intellectual freedom is also shown in his ownership of a highly controversial work, the *De Immortalitate Animae* (1230) of the fifteenth-century Italian philosopher, Aristotelian rather than Platonist, Pietro Pomponazzi, which propounded the soul's mortality, a doctrine with which Nairn must surely have profoundly disagreed. As will be seen, there were several highly important philosophical works in Nairn's library with which he must have disagreed profoundly. Yet he still owned them and handed them on to Edinburgh University Library.

The later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw great advances in philosophical speculation, and Nairn's library contains most of the greatest contributions: for example, the complete philosophical works (in Latin) of Francis Bacon (Frankfurt, 1665) (110) and of Justus Lipsius (Wesel, 1675) (947); and important philosophical works by Thomas Campanella (286), Pierre Gassendi (633) and Pierre Charron (344-45). However, the towering stimulant in the development of philosophical ideas during most of the seventeenth century was René Descartes. Nairn, in his library holdings, shows that he fully appreciated the importance of Descartes, and kept up with philosophical developments long after the end of his formal period of study at Edinburgh University: all the works in the library by or about Descartes or on Cartesian philosophy, or showing the influence of Descartes, have imprint dates after 1652.

It is highly likely that Nairn discussed the philosophy of Descartes with Gilbert Burnet in the early 1660s. The younger man in his draft autobiography, narrates how 'At this time I applied my selfe to Philosophy

and Mathematicks, and run thro Des Cartes...'.⁵ This passage occurs immediately after the section quoted above about Nairn recommending to him 'Plato and the Platonists'. Burnet also mentions that in this period 'with him [i.e. Nairn] I spent many hours'.

Burnet visited Holland in 1664, and having been bored by Calvinist theologians met 'a few Cartesian philosophers [whol] were more entertaining'.⁶ Nairn's edition of Descartes's *Opera Philosophica* dates from this time (Amsterdam, 1663-64) (301), and other germane works in the bequest testify to Nairn's continued interest in Cartesianism. He owned the life of Descartes by Pierre Borel in an English translation (London, 1670) (227), and defences of his philosophy by J. B. Du Hamel (Oxford, 1669) (739) and Géraud de Cordemoy (London, 1670) (622). Another work, on the soul and the body, by Cordemoy (Paris, 1671) is also in the library (507). Other important authors present in the bequest who were strongly influenced by aspects of Descartes's thought include Johann Clauberg (365, 367), Antoine Le Grand (704), Christoph Wittich (1635-36), and Arnauld and Nicole, represented by two editions of the Port-Royal Logic in Latin (London, 1674, and Utrecht, 1666) (90-91). Not all works in the library dealing with Descartes's philosophical ideas are favourable: Nairn owned two works attacking Descartes by Johann Schuler (1405, 1405A).

In fact, many clerics in Scotland and elsewhere deeply distrusted Descartes's philosophy, with its stress on the fundamental importance of man's own intellect and its complete separation of the workings of the physical world, which were purely mechanical, from questions of morality. Robert Baillie called Descartes a 'very ignorant atheist' in 1648.

Nevertheless, he still wanted to acquire examples of his work, writing to Spang in Holland:

It's a mervai11 to me that any there should be taken with De Cartes's way ... I have diverse of his former pieces; send to me what he has written this last yeare.⁷

This quest for examples of the works of Descartes, even if stimulated by strong personal feelings of disapproval, is highly important. Nairn may or may not have approved of the ideas of Descartes, or may have had different opinions on different aspects of Descartes's thought at different stages of his life, like Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, but Nairn's own views are not so significant as the fact that he and, as shall be seen, other seventeenth-century Scottish clerics, knew of Descartes and his ideas, owned his works, and possessed titles by those philosophers who developed Cartesian ideas after the death of Descartes himself.

Disquiet at the ideas of Descartes, however, was modest compared to the outrage expressed at the ideas propounded by Thomas Hobbes. In 1646, Robert Baillie, using a phrase very similar to the one used against Descartes two years later, called him 'a professed Atheist'.⁸ Hobbes's most important contribution in the development of philosophy was in political theory, most notably in his *Leviathan* (London, 1651), but as he wrote copiously on other philosophical and scientific matters, he is discussed here as well as in chapter seven below. Henry Scougal thought that *Leviathan* expressed 'debauched sentiments';⁹ while Burnet called it 'a very wicked book', attacking the 'pestiferous spawn' of the 'infernal Leviathan'.¹⁰ It is highly likely that Nairn would have concurred with all those sentiments; nevertheless, he owned Hobbes's *Opera Philosophica*

(Amsterdam, 1668) (787), which shows how he recognised the importance of Hobbes's work, as he did that of Descartes, and how he wished to represent him fully in his collection. As with Descartes, or Plato for that matter, Hobbes was not allowed a place in Nairn's library without ancillary works. In fact, there are five works discussing the views of Hobbes, all concentrating on his political philosophy, and all severely critical, by Thomas Tenison, later to be Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 1671) (788), Lord Clarendon (Oxford, 1676) (766), Gisbert Cock (Utrecht, 1661) (387), Robert Sharrock (Oxford, 1660) (1402), and John Templer (London, 1673) (1483). The last-mentioned work has a poem at its start calling Hobbes the 'Malmesburiensis hydra'.¹¹

A younger philosopher who stirred up even more controversy than Hobbes was the Dutchman Spinoza (1632-1677). His *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, which first appeared, anonymously, in print in 1670, was banned by the Dutch States General in 1674. Nevertheless, editions continued to appear, not least in Holland, and despite the condemnation Nairn owned a 1674 edition probably printed in Amsterdam (1523), bound with Regnerus a Mansvelt's strictures on the work (1523A). Spinoza's tenet that the individual should have complete liberty of thought to speculate verbally or in writing on any matter at all would no doubt have been quite unacceptable to Nairn, and yet his acquisition of the item demonstrates once again a freedom to include any book he wanted in his library. A similar inclusion was Martin Clifford's *Treatise of Humane Reason* (London, 1675) (1527) which according to the Bishop of Ely of the day 'made every man's private fancy judge of religion'.¹²

Spinoza's work, despite the Dutch ban, was quite openly brought into Scotland, and its importation was clearly a paying proposition: on 19 September 1674 the great London bookseller Robert Scott mentioned to his Edinburgh colleague Archibald Hislop in a letter accompanying a shipment of books that this particular consignment contained '12 of ye Tractatus Theol polit: which is a prohibited books [sic]'.¹³ Several of Spinoza's works were posthumously printed in Amsterdam in 1677 but Nairn did not own them; perhaps he would have done had he lived longer. Word of the *Opera Posthuma*'s appearance percolated to Scotland very quickly. On 5 May 1678 James Fall, a clergyman, wrote to Lord Tweeddale on various matters relating to recent Dutch books. The letter includes the following delightful rationalisation:

I hear there is lately come out a piece writne by that Famous author of Tractatus Theologico-politicus, I am sorry such books are printed but since they are my curiosity leads me to desire a sight of them.¹⁴

Very little has yet been said in this chapter about the philosophical contents of other clerical libraries in Scotland at this time, although knowledge by Baillie and Fall of philosophical developments has been mentioned, as has importation of works by Descartes and Spinoza. A survey of the contents of other clerical libraries shows that the dissemination of new philosophical ideas amongst book-collecting Restoration clerics was quite wide, even if of varying degrees of intensity and coupled with ownership of works expounding much older philosophical theories.

From the Scougals, King's College Aberdeen acquired philosophical material almost as wide, but not nearly in such depth, as Edinburgh University Library did from Nairn. The earliest extant catalogue of their

bequest, drawn up around 1700, records the works of Plato, edited by Ficino, two editions of Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning*, an edition of Suarez's *Metaphysica*, the second edition of Henry More's *Enchiridion Ethicum* (London, 1669), Ralph Cudworth's *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, published in London in the year of Nairn's death, Du Hamel's *De Consensu Veteris et Novae Philosophiae* (Oxford, 1669), Clifford's *Treatise of Humane Reason*, and even Spinoza's *Tractatus*, in its first edition, bound, as was Nairn's edition, with Mansvelt's strictures on it. The Scougals bequeathed to Aberdeen nothing by Descartes or by that purveyor of 'debauched sentiments', Thomas Hobbes, contenting themselves with attacks on Hobbes by Tenison and William Lucy.

Leighton owned the complete works of Aristotle, and numerous works by Aristotelians, such as Suarez, Timpler, Burgersdijck, and Goclenius, but was even stronger on Plato and the neo-Platonists, as would be expected from one with his mystical leanings: the complete works of Plato and Plotinus, in Latin and Greek, as well as separate fragments of the former, Philo Judaeus in Greek, and items by Proclus, Sallust the Platonist, Maximus of Tyre, Hierocles of Alexandria and Iamblichus of Chalcis. However, Leighton's philosophical holdings did not stop at the ancient world, for he possessed several works by Bacon and Justus Lipsius, a particular favourite, although he owned nothing by Descartes or by Spinoza. Cartesian philosophy is however elucidated in two works: the *De Philosophia Cartesiana* (Wesel, 1668) by the enthusiastic Cartesian Balthasar Bekker, and by Johann Schuler's anti-Cartesian polemic already noted as being in Nairn's library, present here in its first edition

(Amsterdam, 1666). Clearly, Leighton wanted both sides represented. His knowledge of other new ideas is also shown in ownership of the fourth edition of Nicolas Malebranche's influential *De la Recherche de la verité* (Paris, 1678), as well as in Pierre Gassendi's *Exercitationes Paradoxicæ Adversus Aristoteleos* (Amsterdam, 1649), Hobbes's *De Corpore Politico* and *De Cive* in English. Attacks on Hobbes by Tenison and Seth Ward were also in his library.

John Gray's philosophical holdings were not very numerous, and are particularly deficient in Aristotelian philosophy and works by early pagan and Christian neo-Platonists, a reflection perhaps of his being younger than the other clerical collectors studied here. However, what he did own is of considerable interest. Although lacking anything by Descartes, volume two of Du Hamel's *Philosophia Vetus et Novæ ad Usum Scholæ Accommodata* (London, 1685) survives, as do two editions of Arnauld and Nicole's *Art of Logic*, to represent philosophical works by his followers. There is nothing by Hobbes, but there is Spinoza's *Tractatus* in a 1674 edition, as well as Mansvelt's critique of it, Martin Clifford's *Treatise of Humane Reason* (London, 1675), Henry More's *Collection of Several Philosophical Writings* (London, 1662) and his *Enchiridion Ethicum*, second edition (London, 1669), Nathanael Culverwel's *Of the Light of Nature* (London, 1654), Bacon's *Opera Omnia* (Frankfurt, 1665), and Pierre Charron's *De la Sagesse* (Paris, 1618).

James Wemyss in his philosophical collecting was untouched by Cartesianism, and in fact possessed little philosophy of any sort, although he did own Cudworth's *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London,

1678). Annand's smaller library was also very poor in philosophy, although he owned Clarendon against Hobbes and More's *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*. The two smallest libraries studied in depth are, for their size, more interesting: although Archdeacon Moore had no Descartes, contenting himself with Schuler's refutations of Cartesian philosophy, he did have Hobbes's *De Cive* in an edition printed in Amsterdam in 1677 and More's *Enchiridion Ethicum* (London, 1669); James Lundie's 1672 catalogue, partial though it is, records such items as 'Cartesius philosophie', 'Cartesii Epistola', 'Clarendon against Hobbes' as well as 'Plato opera Lat.', 'Plato Gr/Lat Vol. 2', 'Aristotle Opera' and 'Derodon's Opera philosophica'.

Henry Scougal taught philosophy at King's College Aberdeen, and James Vemyss was Principal of St Leonard's College, St Andrews. Their library holdings in philosophy may reflect these university links, but the other clerics whose libraries have been studied had no formal links with any Scottish university in the Restoration period. The clear evidence of receptivity to new ideas amongst later seventeenth-century Scottish clerics coupled with continuing interest in older philosophical traditions thus augments the findings of Christine Shepherd in her 1975 thesis 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities in the Seventeenth Century', but it reflects her findings too. Dr Shepherd has examined accession documents relating to all the libraries of the Scottish universities and shown that after 1650 they were acquiring Cartesian and other modern philosophical works for their collections at the expense of Aristotelian acquisitions, although some Aristotelian works

continued to be purchased, just as certain regents continued to teach Aristotle.

Nairn's library was particularly strong in the area of ethics. Several relevant titles are scholarly manuals, like Gabriel Vazquez's *Opuscula Moralia* (Antwerp, 1617) (1547A), Daniel Sinapius's *Dissertationes Ethicae* (Leyden, 1645) (1414), and Thomas White's *Institutionum Ethicarum* (London, 1660) (49), but most are on practical ethics, on how best to conduct one's own life. Nairn's holdings of works in this genre far exceed any other private library studied in the course of preparing for this thesis, although several titles mentioned below are present in other clerical libraries, as shall be indicated. Indeed, like the devotional works recorded in the last chapter, this group can be regarded as a particular strength in Nairn's library. These items, most of them in small format, designed for private use, demonstrate the importance Nairn attached to man's proper conduct on earth and his relations with his fellow human beings, as well as to conquering his own baser emotions. This can be regarded as a facet of his so-called Pelagian religious beliefs.

It was not just from Christians that Nairn and his contemporaries were prepared to absorb practical ethics and advice on how to find peace of mind. Writers from the ancient world expressing moral virtues and upright conduct compatible with Christianity are given a place in their collections: as John Gray wrote in his copy of Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations* (London, 1673), 'This is a very wise book wherein there is nothing to scare a Christian'. Nairn also owned the *Meditations*

(Cambridge, 1652) (56), as well as Alexander of Aphrodisias's *De Fato* (London, 1658) (28), Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Leyden, 1671) (215), and Epictetus's *Enchiridion* with the *Tabula* of Cebes (London, 1659 and London, 1670) (551-52). Titles by Cicero, Plutarch and Seneca in Nairn's collection of the Latin literary classics are also of relevance here.

Pagans, naturally enough, are not allowed the monopoly of expression: there is also a fine group of works in Nairn's collection by Christians. Some are expressly concerned with dying well and coping with adversity: for example, J. D. Philonius's *Tilianus, vel de Scientia Bene Moriendi* (Basle, 1553) (1192), Cardano's *De Utilitate ex Adversis Capienda* (Frankfurt, 1648) (297), Sadoletto's *Philosophicae Consolationes et Meditationes in Adversis* (Frankfurt, 1577) (982A), and John Stearne's *De Morte* (Dublin, 1659) (1443). These works may have consoled Nairn in his long and painful bouts of illness.

Other works deal with general control over one's own emotions, which Nairn, as Burnet has noted, did not always manage to achieve. Examples are: La Chambre's *The Characters of the Passions* (London, 1650) (341), Antoine Le Grand's *Les Caractères de l'homme sans passions, selon les sentimens de Seneque* (Paris, 1665) (343), Timothy Bright's *A Treatise of Melancholy* (London, 1586) (247), Walter Charleton's *Natural History of the Passions* (London, 1674) (785), based on a French work by Senault, which Nairn also owned (1393), Pierre du Moulin's *A Treatise of Peace & Contentment of Mind*, second edition (London, 1671) (1081), John Stearne's *Animi Medela, seu De Beatudine et Miseria* (Dublin, 1658) (1440), and four

works now usually attributed to the Anglican divine Richard Allestree, *The Ladies Calling* (Oxford, 1673), *The Gentleman's Calling* (London, 1668), *The Art of Contentment* (Oxford, 1675) and *The Government of the Tongue* (Oxford, 1674) (901, 334A, 93, 697). The list of works in Nairn's library relevant to aspects of personal conduct and ethics could carry on for some time further, but the works that have been mentioned above show the range of experiences and cultural backgrounds Nairn was able to draw upon.¹⁸

The last mentioned item by Allestree, and the Stearne, were also in Moore's library; James Lundie and John Gray owned the Charleton; and Gray also owned *The Art of Contentment*, *The Government of the Tongue*, and English translations of the Le Grand and of the Senault. Of all the libraries studied, Gray's came nearest to Nairn's in this field, with items like Le Grand's *Divine Epicurus, or, The Empire of Pleasure over the Virtues* (London, 1676), Thomas Traherne's *Christian Ethicks* (London, 1675), Francis Quarles's *Enchiridion* (London, 1682), Sir George Mackenzie's *Moral Gallantry* (Edinburgh, 1667) and the same author's *A Moral Essay Preferring Solitude to Publick Employment* (Edinburgh, 1667) and also John Evelyn's rejoinder, *Publick Employment and an Active Life* (London, 1667).

Several of the works noted above in Nairn's library would today be regarded as works of psychology. Other works in Nairn's library relevant here are Theophrastus's *Characters* (1497), Walter Charleton, Huarte Navarro and Edo Neuhusius on the varying aptitudes of men (515, 818, 1100), and Artemidorus on dreams (95), as well as the *De Anima et Vita* (Lyons, 1596) (1569) of the Spanish humanist Juan Vives.

Psychology also embraces deviant behaviour, and one aspect of deviance in which the Scots in the seventeenth century were deeply involved was witchcraft. Witchcraft was but one manifestation of a general belief in demons and the power of prophecy, in turn mixed up with certain religious researches, notably Jewish interpretations of Old Testament writings, the cabbala, and also with the writings of the mythical Hermes Trismigistus, supposedly a coeval of Moses, and with the doctrines of the neo-Platonists which were taken up and elaborated upon by early Christian writers and again by Renaissance humanists. Myths, legends, folk survivals and scientific research into little understood chemical processes and astronomical phenomena were all inextricably part of a very heady brew indeed. Purely alchemical works will be discussed in the scientific section of this chapter, as will astrological ones, but it must be remembered that many works wandered across all aspects of magic, with philosophical, scientific and medical implications.

Nairn could hardly have avoided knowledge of witchcraft and witchcraft trials, for Scotland during his adult life was, of all countries in western Europe, particularly involved in witch hunts.¹⁶ Nairn was not just a passive observer of these phenomena: on three occasions at least he was directly involved, in a professional capacity, in investigations involving witchcraft. In 1659 the kirk session of the Canongate heard testimonies against one Janet Allan who was accused of being a witch. The Session thereupon referred the process to the civil authority, which was the customary procedure: eventually, in 1661, Janet Allan was put to death.¹⁷ When a member of the Synod of Lothian, Nairn sat on a committee

investigating accusations, including ones of involvement in witchcraft, against the Minister of Crichton, Gideon Penman. The investigations took much time but proved nothing.¹⁸ Right at the end of his career, Nairn was occupied once again in an investigation involving accusations of witchcraft when the Wemyss kirk session, on 9 September 1677, heard testimony against Janet Salmond who had been overheard calling the children of another parishioner 'witche birds and come of witches'.¹⁹ Nairn recommended that the parishioner seek redress from the civil magistrate. This meeting was the last recorded session meeting of Nairn's career.

Nairn's views on witches are not known, but it seems certain that he would have believed in their existence. All relevant material in his library, an important corpus, assumes this: the variety, and indeed conflict, lies in the suggested ways of proving a person's guilt or innocence. Johann Wier (1515-1588), for example, was one who criticised many of the ways adopted to prove that a person was a witch but gave his approval to others: Nairn had his *Opera Omnia* in a contemporary edition (Amsterdam, 1660) (1627). Wier's reservations were attacked by Jean Bodin in his *De Magorum Daemonomania*, a work whose hysterical tone did much to fan the European witch craze. This is also in Nairn's library, in an early Latin edition (Basle, 1581) (211). Another, more recent, work on methods of witchfinding also owned by Nairn was John Cotta's *The Triall of Witchcraft, Shewing the True and Right Methode of the Discovery: With a Confutation of Erroneous Wayes* (London, 1616) (418). Even more up to date were Méric Casaubon's *A Treatise Proving Spirits, Witches, and Supernatural*

Operations, by Pregnant Instances and Evidences (London, 1672) (312),²⁰ and Joseph Glanvill's *A Blow at Modern Sadducism, in Some Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft*, fourth edition (London, 1668) (672).

Glanvill, a founder of the Royal Society, was a close friend of Henry More, and the Cambridge Platonists believed implicitly in the existence of witches, feeling that a denial of their existence would open the doors to atheism. They absorbed their beliefs from the neo-Platonists, who wrote on supernatural affairs: the works by Proclus, Psellus, and Porphyry collected together in one volume in Nairn's collection (833) are largely about demons. Henry More's *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*, dedicated to Cudworth, which was owned by Nairn, as well as by Gray and Annand, in its second, enlarged, edition (London, 1662) (1054) not only contains a scientific correspondence with Descartes and an extended essay on the immortality of the soul, but also contains the 'Antidote Against Atheism', book three of which is full of stories of witches, demons, apparitions and supernatural events. The same volume also contains the 'Conjectura Cabbalistica, or a Conjectural Essay of Interpreting the Mind of Moses, in the first three Chapters of Genesis, According to a Threefold Cabbala: viz. Literal/Philosophical/Mystical, or Divinely Moral'. The philosophical and mystical sections reflect More's absorption of occult beliefs, and the subtitle epitomises the complex influences at work on minds of the period.²¹

Nairn's library contains several other works on magic, divination and prophecy, as well as the hermetic books on which writers in this area heavily relied: Martin del Rio's *Disquisitionum Magicarum Libri Sex*

(Mainz, 1612) (484), Henning Gross's *Magica de Spectris et Apparitionibus* ... (Leyden, 1656) (772), a collection of cabbalistic writings edited by Johann Pistorius (Basle, 1587) (270), a collection of hermetic texts edited by Francisco Patrizzi (Hamburg, 1593) (758), Michael Maier's *Lusus Serius* (Oppenheim, 1616) (1003), and works on divination and prophecy by Caspar Peucer (Frankfurt, 1593) (1188) and the mythical Merlin (1015). The collection of works by Proclus, Iamblichus and others already referred to (833) also contains the *Poimandres* and *Asclepius*, attributed to Hermes Trismegistus.

These titles all show Nairn's interest in the subject. He also owned the work by Isaac Casaubon which exposed the hermetic canon as much less ancient than thought (London, 1614) (307) but as Casaubon's findings are embedded in much other material (the work is entitled *De Rebus Sacris et Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes xvi. Ad Card. Baronii Prolegomena in Annales*) it is highly debatable if Nairn knew the significance of Casaubon's work, or cared much about the dating.²²

Leighton also owned this work, and it certainly appears to have had no effect on his collecting, for he too collected works on magic, a facet of his deep attachment to the neo-Platonists and his affinities with the Cambridge Platonists. If anything, his collection in this area was more extensive than Nairn's: J. B. Craven produced a short book entitled *The Esoteric Studies of Robert Leighton* in 1918, basing his findings largely on the evidence of books in the Leighton Library in Dunblane. Leighton's holograph catalogue contains, for instance, several collections of hermetic writings, including that by Pistorius owned by Nairn, is strong in the

neo-Platonists as already mentioned, and lists such works as the *Conjectura Cabbalistica* of Henry More, Henning Gross's *Magica de spectris*, Cornelius Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, Thomas Vaughan's *Anthroposophia Theomagica*, Campanella's *De Sensu Rerum et Magia*, and the complete works of Pico della Mirandola, a man deeply absorbed by research into magic and the occult.

John Gray's library also has relevant material: for example, Pierre Le Loyer's *Treatise of Specters* (London, 1605); Henri Boguet's *Discours des Sorciers* (Lyons, 1605); an edition of the works by Del Rio and Peucer already noted as being in Nairn's collection. Annand also collected: Robert Fludd's *Mosaicall Philosophy* (London, 1659); Bodin's *Daemonomania* (Basle, 1581); Reginald Scot's *The Discovery of Witchcraft* (London, 1651); George Sinclair's *Satan's Invisible World* (Edinburgh, 1685); Joannes Filesacus's *De Idolatria Magica*; an edition of Hermes Trismegistus. Vemyss also owned the Bodin and editions of Hermes Trismegistus and Merlin's prophecies, the latter in Italian, although this^{is} about the sum of his holdings in this area. The libraries of the Scougals and of William Moore have no relevant material.

Writings on witchcraft and magic seem light years away from Descartes's mechanistic universe, and yet each coexisted in the minds of seventeenth-century scholars, and books on each sat side by side on the shelves of seventeenth-century libraries. It was the development of modern science, with advances in the rational explanation of hitherto unexplained natural phenomena, which largely dispelled beliefs in magic. The great philosophers mentioned in this chapter, from Plato and Aristotle

to Bacon, Descartes and Hobbes, involved themselves deeply in what today would be labelled scientific research and observation. In having the philosophical works of Plato, Bacon, Descartes and Hobbes, Nairn therefore had scientific material of the highest importance. Many of the books already mentioned in this chapter covered scientific matters and to these should be added a considerable number of more specialised items.

Nairn's science books are certainly numerous enough to warrant the word 'collection'. There is in this group the same movement from Aristotelianism which is evident in his general philosophical holdings. Most works representing traditional views on natural philosophy date from before 1650 and may have been used by Nairn during his purely Aristotelian studies at Edinburgh University, although there is no proof that they were so used: Burgersdijck's *Collegium Physicum* (Leyden, 1642) (262); Goclenius's *Physica Generalis* (Frankfurt, 1613) (678); Keckermann's *Systema Physicum* (Hanau, 1617) (874); Heereboord's *Collegium Physicum* (Leyden, 1649) (748); Scribonius's *Physica et Sphaerica Doctrina* (Frankfurt, 1593) (1380); Timpler's *Opticae Systema* (Hanau, 1617) (1514). Works with imprint dates after 1650 show new ideas in varying intensity, a demonstration of the quickening pace of scientific change. The fact that several highly important and highly specialised new works covering various topics within general scientific enquiry are in Nairn's bequest shows his adult interest and his open outlook, even in highly technical matters far removed from everyday experience.

Several works are by dedicated Cartesians: Tatinghoff's *Clavis Philosophiae Naturalis* (Leyden, 1655) (1480); Clauberg's *Physica*

(Amsterdam, 1664) (365); Lipstorp's *Specimina Philosophiae Cartesianae, Quibus Accedit Eiusdem Authoris Copernicus Redivivus* (Leyden, 1653) (948); and Rohault's *Traité de Physique* (Amsterdam, 1672) (1304), for example. Seventeenth-century science did not stop at Descartes, however, and many of the thinkers, preeminently Newton, who overturned many of the scientific theories of Descartes, came from England. Nairn had no Newton, apart from his edition of Varenus's *Geographia Generalis* (Cambridge, 1672) (1545), but did have works by other seventeenth-century English scientists, not all of them of fundamental importance, but all displaying great intellectual curiosity. From early in the century came William Gilbert's *De Magnete*, first issued in 1600 and owned by Nairn in an edition printed in Sedan in 1628 (663). Much more recent was Sir Matthew Hale's *Difficiles Nugae, or, Observations Touching the Torricellian Experiment* (London, 1670) (496), a copy given or otherwise appropriated by Nairn from Lord Wemyss, which complements Francis Line's *Tractatus de Corporum Inseparabilitate* (London, 1661) (945), and Sir Kenelm Digby's *Two Treatises, in the One of Which, the Nature of Bodies ... is Looked Into* (Paris, 1644) (497). Most up to date in this section of Nairn's library are works by Robert Boyle: *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Experimental Naturall Philosophy*, two volumes (Oxford, 1664-71) (228); *The Origine of Formes and Qualities (According to the Corpuscular Philosophy)*, second edition (Oxford, 1667) (229); *Tracts ... About the Cosmicall Qualities of Things* (Oxford, 1671) (231); and *New Experiments and Observations Touching Cold* (235). All these works have fundamental importance in the development of chemistry as well as of physics: Nairn

also owned a Latin edition of Boyle's *Sceptical Chymist* (London, 1662) (230). More will be said particularly of chemistry later.

In the 'brave new world' of the Royal Society in Restoration London, where Boyle was a luminary and whose *History* by Thomas Sprat (London, 1667) (1436) Nairn owned, optimism about the future was naturally prevalent, optimism which was manifest in several works by Joseph Glanvill (670-71, 673-74). However, it should be remembered that Glanvill, as been mentioned above, also believed in, and wrote about, the existence of witches.

Christine Shepherd has found that the theories of Robert Boyle were praised unequivocally in the Scottish universities from the 1670s, and that titles by Boyle were being acquired for Edinburgh University Library and the libraries of the other universities from the 1660s.²³ She has also shown in great depth that, generally speaking, regents in the four universities, and especially in Edinburgh, were responding positively to the challenges to conventional wisdom forced upon them by the scientific theories of Descartes and his followers, although they had varying opinions on details, even to the extent of individual teachers changing their minds over the years.²⁴ Dr Shepherd has also analysed the scientific acquisitions of the university libraries in the Restoration period and shown how works propounding Cartesian ideas were being acquired by gift and purchase.²⁵ Once again, as with philosophy in general, the evidence of Nairn's collecting shows unequivocally that he, a mere amateur, was also responding in his book collecting to new scientific

ideas, many of them controversial and highly specialised. Moreover, Nairn was not collecting in isolation amongst his fellow clerics: several colleagues had relevant works in their libraries, although none matched Nairn for variety, and some largely ignored new scientific developments.

Leighton was one who fell into the latter category: the most modern item in his library amongst a small number of books on science was Thomas White's *De Mundo*, a work read by Sir Robert Sibbald during his student days at Edinburgh University in the late 1650s when Leighton was Principal.²⁶ Moore's library, as represented in the 1744 catalogue, was devoid of contemporary books on matters under discussion here, but James Lundie owned 'Cartesius philosophie' as already mentioned, as well as Digby's *Of Bodies*. Wemyss had no works exemplifying Cartesian scientific theories; and Boyle's *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy*, second edition (Oxford, 1669) stands somewhat in isolation in his sale catalogue. Annand's sale catalogue is more fruitful: no Cartesian works, but Sprat on the Royal Society, three volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, Walter Charleton's *Physiologia Epicuri-Gassendo-Charltoniana, or a Fabrick of Science Natural upon the Hypothesis of Atoms* (London, 1654), and the *Hydrostaticks* (Edinburgh, 1672) of George Sinclair, the same man who wrote *Satan's Invisible World*, already mentioned as being in Annand's library.

The much younger John Gray possessed Rohault's *Traité de physique* (Amsterdam, 1672) and two items by Boyle: *Certain Physiological Essays* (London, 1661) and *Tractatus ... de Cosmicis Rerum Qualitatibus* (Amsterdam, 1671). A note on the Rohault in Gray's hand mentions that he purchased it

in Glasgow in 1684. Also close in spirit to Nairn's library in this area was the library of the Scougals, who owned three relevant titles by Boyle (*Experiments of Cold* (London, 1665), *Tracts ... About the Cosmical Qualities of Things* (Oxford, 1671) and *Paradoxa Hydrostatica* (Rotterdam, 1670)), the Walter Charleton owned by Annand, and Glanvill's *Philosophia Pia* (London, 1671). Several or all of these may have been acquired by Henry Scougal ^{when a regent at King's College, Aberdeen, 1668-72,} ~~in connection with his university teaching~~ but the presence of these varied new titles in the library of Annand, Gray and in Nairn's library itself demonstrates a wider dissemination of new scientific ideas in Scotland in the period after the Restoration than hitherto appreciated.

Gilbert Burnet has recorded his own keen interest in science at the period when his friendship with Nairn was closest. He was not only an observer but also participated in scientific experiments. Late in 1664 at Saltoun he investigated a comet for several nights through a telescope with his patron Sir Robert Fletcher, an enthusiastic scientist; the most dramatic result of this was that Sir Robert caught a cold from which he died. ~~✓~~ In 1663, Burnet had demonstrated his enthusiasm when he made a point of visiting such distinguished scientists as Boyle, Wallis, and Wilkins when in England; of Boyle Burnet declared 'I lived ever after that to his dying day, in a close and entire friendship'.²⁷ Indeed, Burnet was to deliver the eulogy at Boyle's funeral in 1692. On a second visit to England, in 1664, Burnet was made a Fellow of the infant Royal Society, recommended by the Scottish statesman Sir Robert Moray, a founder of the Society, who 'treated me like a father'.^{27a} From England Burnet progressed to Holland where, on Moray's advice, he studied Dutch technological advances.

In the same year he studied Oughtred upon algebra and 'to Sir Robert [Fletcher]'s great joy I taught him that'. Burnet suggests that at this time his enthusiasm for and expertise in mathematical studies were in danger of distracting him from 'the duties of my function'.²⁷⁶ It would seem very likely that the ebullient Burnet's enthusiasm would have found a receptive audience in his neighbour, James Nairn. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that Nairn was any more than a passive, if responsive, observer of developments: on the contrary, when Burnet was pressing Fletcher to offer the vacant Saltoun charge to Nairn, he received the specific reply that 'my inclinations to philosophy and mathematics made him prefer me'.²⁸

Certainly, books in Nairn's library dedicated solely to the two subjects in which Sir Robert Fletcher was particularly interested, mathematics and astronomy, are as a group not very ~~particularly~~ distinguished or numerous. However, several more wide-ranging scientific works in the library contain mathematical and astronomical material of the greatest originality and complexity: the *Opera Philosophica* of Descartes is a pre-eminent example.

Most of Nairn's eight items devoted to mathematics are general. Three of these are surveys of the whole subject, by Pierre Gautruche (*Mathematica* (Caen, 1656) (629)), Pierre Herigone (*Cursus Mathematicus* (Paris, 1634-37) (754)) and Gaspar Schott (*Cursus Mathematicus* (Wurzburg, 1662) (1370)). Three more cover arithmetic: two surveys by Ramus (Berne, 1617 and Frankfurt, 1627) (1255-56), the latter also covering geometry; and one by Noah Bridges (his *Vulgar Arithmetique* (London, 1653) (245)). A seventh

work is Euclid's *Elements*, in an edition translated by Isaac Barrow (London, 1660) (129). The eighth is Napier of Merchiston's *Rabdologiae, seu Numerationis per Virgulas, Libri Duo* (Edinburgh, 1617) (1092), which although specialised, was specifically designed to make complicated calculations easier. Napier's Edinburgh connection would no doubt also have interested Nairn.

The title of one of the items by Ramus describes it as being specifically designed for students; both items by Ramus, and also the Herigone, by their imprint dates, could well have been used at Edinburgh University. As has been mentioned in chapter two, Nairn's regent there, Thomas Crawford, had the title of Professor of Mathematics and possibly gave his charges more mathematics than did other regents. The imprint dates on the Euclid, Bridges, Scott and Gautruche, on the other hand, show that Nairn's interest in mathematics and arithmetic continued into adult life, but not with any sense of specialisation or deep commitment to collecting.

Nairn's holdings in astronomy follow a virtually identical pattern to his mathematical holdings. Only seven items are involved. Three of these, by their technique and approach, following the Ptolemaic system, and by their imprint dates, could ~~have~~ well have served as student texts at Edinburgh University: Willem Blaeu's *Institutio Astronomica* (Amsterdam, 1634) (201); Christopher Clavius's *In Sphaeram Joannis de Sacro Bosco Commentarius* (St Gervaise, 1608) (371); and Michael Maestlin's *Epitome Astronomiae* (Tubingen, 1610) (1020). Three items (634-36) show adult interest, for they all have imprints dating from the 1650s, and are by the

eminent astronomer Pierre Gassendi, who died in 1655. Two (634-35) are biographical works, studies of such notable astronomers as Peiresc, Copernicus, Brahe and Peurbach; the third is a general work, the *Institutio Astronomica iuxta Hypotheseis tam Veterum, quam Copernici et Tychoonis* ... (Paris, 1647), which, as its title proclaims, contains summaries of the important advances up to Gassendi's time. The seventh work on astronomy in Nairn's collection is Kepler's *Prodromus Dissertationum Cosmographicarum* in its first edition, Tübingen, 1596 (881), a scientific classic of the first rank, although it appears rather isolated amongst Nairn's more general surveys of the workings of the heavens and those who surveyed them. Once again, however, it should be remembered that Nairn would have owned detailed and highly technical contributions to astronomy embedded in other works.

A subject related to astronomy and mathematics, scientific chronology, was clearly of deeper interest to Nairn, being of direct relevance to a churchman, whether to understand the dating of Easter or the timing and sequence of biblical events or more recent ecclesiastical happenings. Nairn's avid interest in general history, which will be demonstrated in chapter seven, also explains his collection of eight works specifically on this subject, ranging in date from 1600 (1484) to 1669 (175). The authors include Pierre Gassendi (632), Denys Petau (1199), J. J. Scaliger (1357) and Thomas Lydiat (966-67).²⁹

Another item by Gassendi in the Nairn bequest is his *The Vanity of Judiciary Astrology, or, Divination of Stars ... Translated into English by a Person of Quality* (London, 1659) (637). This was an attack on a subject

which had generated an immense literature. It would however be wrong to demonstrate from this that Nairn disapproved of astrology, for he also owned William Lilly's *Christian Astrology* (London, 1647) (943), a work which presupposed belief in the art, as well as Girolamo Cardano's *Metoposcopia*, an astrological work related to physiognomy, written long before Nairn's birth, but which Nairn owned in an edition printed in Paris in 1658 (296). His exact attitude to the subject therefore cannot be ascertained with any certainty from his library.

Taken as a whole, the libraries of the other clerics studied for this thesis are even less distinguished than Nairn's in the fields of mathematics, astronomy and astrology. The exception is Leighton's holdings of works on mathematics. He owned several detailed works, as well as wider surveys: for example, James Hume's *Traicté de l'algebre* (Paris, 1635) and the same author's *Traicté de la trigonometrie* (Paris, 1636); an edition of Euclid's *Elements*; Keckermann's *Systema Compendiosum Totius Mathematices* (Hanau, 1621); Antoine Girard's *Tables des sines tangentes & secantes* (The Hague, 1626); and Malapert's *Faciliorum Geometriae Elementorum* (Douai, 1626). These express a deeper interest in mathematics than Nairn had, unless of course they were all inherited from his father. On the other hand, Leighton's holdings of works on scientific chronology and astronomy were not nearly so numerous as Nairn's, although he did own Copernicus's *Astronomia Instaurata* (Amsterdam, 1617), and Isaac Vossius's *Dissertatio de Vera Aetate Mundi* (The Hague, 1659). His holdings tended to stress astrology, a link with his general interest in magic, and clashes rather with the abstract world

of the mathematicians. He owned, for example, Claude Saumaise's *De Annis Climacteris et Antiqua Astrologia Diatribae* (Leyden, 1648), Rantzau's *Tractatus Astrologicus de Genethliacorum Thematum* (Frankfurt, 1625), and works by Gaffarel, Dee, and Leovitius.

Other libraries present a very patchy picture, although there is some stress on chronology. The Scougals owned a work on arithmetic and geometry by Adrianus Metius (Franeker, 1611), Joseph Moxon on the use of globes, Sacrobosco on the sphere, Mercator on chronology, and little else. There are no astrological works in their library. Gray, however, owned Saumaise's *De Annis Climacteris* and James Corss's *Οὐρανοσχοπία*, or *Contemplation of the Heavens* (Edinburgh, 1662). He also possessed two copies of a work on chronology by Johann Funck, but had no more mathematical holdings than Ramus on arithmetic and geometry and Robert Record on arithmetic. Lundie had no mathematical and astronomical works at all, but Moore owned Gassendi on astronomy, and owned works on scientific chronology by Mercator and Beroald (Basle, 1577) and Johann Alstedt (Herborn, 1622). Annand owned Alstedt on chronology and Scaliger's *De Emendatione Temporum*. He also had an interest in astrology, with Joseph Blagrave's *Introduction to Astrology* (London, 1682), and the *Works* of Sir George Wharton (London, 1683). Clearly, much specialised research in mathematics and astronomy was passing this group of collectors by, with authors like Seth Ward, John Wallis, Marin Mersenne, Tycho Brahe, Johannes Hevelius and Galileo, all collected by the universities,³⁰ unrepresented, although the contributions of Hobbes and Descartes present in certain clerical libraries should be cited in

mitigation. On the other hand, none of the existing records give any examples of clerics purchasing any of the popular annual 'Prognostications' which were issued in some quantity by the Scottish presses at this time.³¹ If they did purchase any, then the purchases have gone unrecorded and the examples lost.

Nairn's collection of books on botany and zoology is in striking contrast to ~~to~~ his mathematical and astronomical holdings. Although very much fewer than the upward of two hundred and fifty items of natural history acquired in the second half of the seventeenth century by James Sutherland (c.1639-1719), Keeper of the Botanic Garden in Edinburgh after 1676,³² Nairn's twenty-one items constitute a fine collection for an amateur. Biology, however, in the seventeenth century, cannot be regarded as an exclusive category: several of the works in the collection have strong medical overtones, just as several works in his medical collection and in his general scientific holdings discuss natural history. This interknit relationship must be remembered when dealing with Nairn's natural history holdings, as well as when his more specifically medical books are discussed.

No less than fifteen natural history items have imprint dates after 1650, and show interest far beyond the elementary Aristotelian biology taught to him in his final year of the M.A. course at Edinburgh University, although it is perhaps significant that his paltry holdings of Aristotle are mainly in the area of natural history. Celebrated names represented range from Pliny (1218) to Antoine Le Grand (703), Ole Worm (the *Museum Wormianum* (Leyden, 1655) (1643)), John Johnstone (850-53), Robert Lovell

(953), and William Harvey, represented by his *De Generatione Animalium* (Amsterdam, 1651) (745). Several items have illustrations, some of them landmarks in the art, for example, those in Pierre Belon's *L'Histoire de la nature des oyseaux* (Paris, 1555) (164), Charles L'Ecluse's *Exoticorum Libri Decem* (Leyden, 1605) (380), and the fine Matthias Merian copperplates in the Johnstone items. Illustrated works are not a particular feature of Nairn's library as a whole, and so this group demonstrates his exceptional interest. Although it is clear to us, as it could not have been to him, that several items were of little or no scientific value, notably Licetus's *De Monstris* (Amsterdam, 1665) (936), or Voigt's *Deliciae Physicae* (Rostock, 1671) (1576), with its sections on crocodile tears and on the drops of blood which were reputed to emanate from a corpse in the presence of its murderer, this group of works is another example of the eclectic nature of Nairn's collecting, his broad outlook and wide interests. One work evokes Nairn the gardener: Robert Sharrock's *The History of the Propagation and Improvement of Vegetables by the Occurrence of Art and Nature* (Oxford, 1660) (1401).

No other cleric evinced such a deep involvement in this area of their collecting, although there is evidence of some interest. John Gray owned a 1595 herbal, Pliny's *Natural History* (a work also owned by Moore, Wemyss, the Scougals and Leighton) and two works on gardening, while Annand owned the highly important *Micrographia* of Robert Hooke (London, 1665), and the Lovell title owned by Nairn. Leighton and the Scougals both owned Johnstone's *Thaumatographia Naturalis*, possessed by Nairn, the Scougals owned an edition of Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, and Wemyss owned an English

translation of the same work, as well as a herbal by William Turner (London, 1568). Even Saltoun Parish Library by 1666 owned Archibald Simson's *Hieroglyphica Animalium* (Edinburgh, 1622).

Several of the works in Nairn's natural history collections examine aspects of the geological sciences: for example the Robert Lovell item (953) has the word 'minerals' in the title. The majority of Nairn's general scientific holdings would have covered topics now falling into the spheres of geology, geophysics, geochemistry, mineralogy and palaeontology. Nairn was clearly especially interested in minerals, gems and stones, for he owned five works on mineralogy (also covering metallurgy) and four works on stones and gems. In the first category is the classic account by Georgius Agricola *De Re Metallica* in a Basle, 1657 edition (22), and also works by Andreas Caesalpinus (389), Joannes Guidius (729), Luigi de' Conti (961), and John Webster (1612), ranging in imprint date from 1602 to 1671. In the second group are works by Conrad Gesner (660), Samuel Chappuzeau (784), Anselm de Boot (1516) and Robert Boyle (233), with imprints ranging from 1565 to 1672. Exactly why Nairn was so interested in this particular branch of science is not known, but perhaps he was stimulated by Lord Wemyss's industrial activities: his patron's diary contains copious notes and diagrams relating to coal mining. On the other hand, it may have been just a facet of his keen interest in the natural world and curiosity about his surroundings, already exemplified in his natural history holdings. No other cleric whose library has been investigated showed any interest in the subject.

Boyle's work mentioned in the last paragraph, *An Essay About the Origin & Virtues of Gems*, contains work important in the development of crystallography, and several of the above works had important implications in the development of chemistry: indeed, it was in the working of metals that modern chemistry has its origins. Chemical studies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were in a particularly ill-defined state. On the one hand, they had strong links with medicine in the provision of drugs, iatrochemistry, a study in which Paracelsus (c.1490-1541) was a pioneer. On the other hand, chemistry, of all the 'modern' sciences, was bound up intimately and inextricably with what today would be regarded as the pseudo-science of alchemy. Alchemy had strong links with astrology and general magic, all of which also had medical applications. Once again, Paracelsus was a prominent alchemist. The exact connection between magic, alchemy and the rise of rational scientific investigation is the subject of lively debate amongst historians of science.³³ At present, younger scholars working in the area recognise that alchemical studies were undertaken with great seriousness by scientists, even by Boyle and Newton, but they argue that by the end of the seventeenth century there was an increasing tendency to separate the two pursuits. During Nairn's lifetime the difference was barely apparent, and certainly not to a non-specialist; the same publication could contain both important nuggets of scientific truth and alchemical supposition. John Webster's *Metallographia* (London, 1671) (1612), already mentioned, is such an example. In general terms it should not be assumed that Nairn was obscurantist and reactionary when it is discovered that he owned several alchemical works. If he wanted

chemistry represented in his collection, and it is clear he did, alchemy had to be included.

In a large literature Nairn's holdings were modest: three texts by Paracelsus and writings by another sixteenth-century alchemist, iatrochemist and physician, Oswald Croll, in a compilation and translation printed in London in 1657 (433); a work by Heinrich Nolle entitled *Naturae Sanctuarium, Quod est, Physica Hermetica* (Frankfurt, 1619) (1112); William Johnson's *Lexicon Chymicum, Cum Obscuriorum Verborum, et Rerum Hermeticarum, tum Phrasium Paracelsicarum ... Explicationem Continens* (London, 1652) (849); and lastly a work printed in Leyden in 1672 entitled *Tractatus de Vero Salo Secreto Philosophorum* (1666). The titles noted here demonstrate the clear links with hermeticism. As already noted, Nairn also owned a group of highly important works by Robert Boyle, including a Latin edition (London, 1662) of the *Sceptical Chymist* (230), which did much to blow away the alchemical methodology.

Similar material was spread widely, if thinly, over other contemporary clerical libraries. Leighton owned Rulandus's *Lexicon Alchemiae* (Frankfurt, 1612) and William Davison's *Philosophia Pyrotechnica* (Paris, 1633-35); James Lundie owned Nicolas Le Fèvre's *A Compleat Body of Chemistry* (London, 1660, 1662, or 1670); the Scougals owned Bernard of Treviso's *De Chymico Miraculo quod Lapidem Philosophiae Appellant* (Basle, 1600), and Pico della Mirandola's *De Auro*. Annand owned Michael Maier's *Symbola Aureae Mensae* (Frankfurt, 1617).

As already mentioned, astrology, botany, alchemy, and chemistry all had strong links with medicine, and medical research of varying or no

merits would have been included in many of the works mentioned in the previous pages. Illness was examined in the light of the movement of the stars in relation to important personal dates, and remedies were determined accordingly; herbals were important sources of medical remedies, as were the various alchemical elixirs; chemists did much to promote the development of modern medical physiology, as well as investigate new drugs. To say, therefore, that Nairn owned thirty-five works on medicine is not really giving a true impression. However, this is the number of items that fall best into modern categories of subjects firmly within the area of medicine.

Nairn's thirty-five titles naturally cannot compare in numbers with the collections being amassed by some Scottish doctors at this time: the 1695 sale catalogue of the library of Sir Andrew Balfour lists no less than 1473 lots on medicine, drugs and natural history,³⁴ and the library of his even more distinguished colleague Sir Robert Sibbald must have also, by the end of ^{the} Restoration period, contained a great number of medical works. However a scrutiny of what Nairn owned, along with some comparisons from other clerical libraries is of interest and value to show the level and dissemination of medical knowledge amongst the later seventeenth-century Scottish clergy.

It is possible that Nairn would have been called upon, as the parish minister and most educated man in the district, to give elementary medical advice. George Herbert, in his 'A Priest to the Temple', first printed in 1652, and a work owned, incidentally, by Leighton, Gray and the Scougals, advises his country parson that 'if there be any of his flock sick, hee is

their Physician or at least his Wife'. Nairn of course had no wife. Herbert continued: 'it is easie for any Scholer to attaine to such a measure of Phisick, as may be of much use to him both for himself, and others. This is done by seeing one anatomy, reading one book of Phisick, having one Herball by him'.³⁵ One hundred and fifty years after Nairn's death, the Revd Sydney Smith in his rural livings at Foston in Yorkshire and Combe Florey in Somerset had to practise medicine, having prepared for such eventualities by attending medical lectures in Edinburgh and in Oxford.³⁶ Many Scottish laymen in the seventeenth century, in the absence of reliable medical advice from a practitioner, appear to have consulted books as a matter of course: Andrew Hay in 1659, when his friend Lady Humble was ill 'looked over a book which I recommended to her for advice therein'; and the Revd Robert Blair, several decades earlier, mentions his reading of Fernel for medical information.³⁷ Herbert also singled out Fernel for special praise: 'let Fernelius be the Phisick Authour, for he writes briefly, neatly, and judiciously'.³⁸

Most of Nairn's medical holdings were general works, mainly recent imprints, which indeed would have been of 'use both for himself and others'. Nairn of course did not enjoy good health. Items in the library include works by Fernel (*Universa Medicina* (Geneva, 1637) (599)) and several other highly distinguished names: Paul Barbette (*Chirurgical and Anatomical Works* (London, 1672) (122)); Bartholinus (*Anatomia* (The Hague, 1660) (132)); Dioscorides on materia medica (Lyons, 1559) (506); Hippocrates (*Opera* (Leyden, 1665) (771)); Du Laurens (*Historia Anatomia* (Frankfurt, 1602) (918)); Rivière (*Praxis Medica* (The Hague, 1658) (1294) and

Institutionum Medicinae Libri Quinque (The Hague, 1658) (1295)); Sennert (*Opera* (Lyons, 1650) (1396)); Sylvius on medicine (London, 1675) (1469); Vesalius on anatomy (Lyons, 1552) (1556); and Walaeus (*Medica Omnia* (London, 1660) (1603)). Strangely enough, not one book in the Nairn bequest is a herbal.

Other medical works in the collection are more specialised and reflect Nairn's own particular ills: he would find material on stones in the bladder in Beverwyck's *De Calculo Renum & Vesicae* (Leyden, 1638) (177) and Varanda's *Tractatus de Affectibus Renum et Vesicae* (Hanoviae, 1617) (1544). Perhaps Zacchias on diseases of the abdomen (Augsburg, 1671) (1654), Turquet on gout (London, 1676) (1536), Sennert on fevers (Amsterdam, 1655) (1397), and Fyens on flatulence (London, 1668) (603) also had personal relevance as well as general application within the parish. Three works, including Duncan Liddel's *Artis Conservandi Sanitatem Libri Duo* (Aberdeen, 1651) (937), discuss how to keep healthy;³⁹ and three more are works on surgery, by Fabricius, in a contemporary edition (Petau, 1666) (64), Paré (Frankfurt, 1594) (1151), and Scultetus on surgical instruments (Ulm, 1655) (1387). Obviously, Nairn would not have been called upon at Wemyss to do major surgery, but he did undergo a major operation himself, and these three works may have thus been of great personal interest to him.

Apart from a group of three items, all contemporary imprints from between 1656 and 1668, on gynaecology (322), on midwifery (1028), and on the reproductive system, the foetus and childbirth (1215), which had obviously no personal application but may have been ^{of} use to local Wemyss midwives, the rest of Nairn's medical collection is miscellaneous: one

work (Frankfurt, 1666) on medical jurisprudence (1653); another on medical history (Ingolstadt, 1583) (1675/1); one on medical biography (Heidelberg, 1613) (13); and Raimund Minderer's *Medicina Militaris, or, a Body of Military Medicines Experimented* (London, 1674) (1031). The presence of the biographical and historical works in Nairn's library is quite understandable, but a reason for isolated modern works on medical jurisprudence and military medicine seems hard to find.

Robert Leighton was the son of a doctor and, not surprisingly, medical works are to be found in his library. Some were no doubt inherited; others, however, by their imprint dates must have been acquired by Robert Leighton himself, as has been pointed out by Gordon Willis.⁴⁰ Titles and authors include Thomas Bartholinus on anatomy (Amsterdam, 1654), Timothy Bright's *Hygiena* (London, 1582), Bruele's *Praxis Medicinae* (Antwerp, 1579), Théophile Gelée's *Anatomie française* (Paris, 1632), three titles on the dispensing of drugs (Troyes, 1632) by Philbert Guibert, listed by Edward Lightmaker amongst those books of his uncle's 'lately bought', the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates ((Paris, 1621), Marque's *Methodique Introduction à la chirurgie* (Paris, 1637), the *Medicina Salernitana* (Frankfurt, 1605), McKaile's *Fons Moffetensis* (Edinburgh, 1659), and Sennert's *Compendium Institutionum Medicarum*.

Examining William Moore's library, W. E. K. Rankin has noted that, 'After Theology, Medicine was an important concern of Moore'.⁴¹ Certainly, in this smaller collection, the number of medical books is the more striking: Moore, like Nairn, died at a comparatively early age and did not enjoy good health. He owned such works as Bright's *Hygiena*, Bruele's

Praxis Medicinae (London, 1639), Castelli's *Lexicon Medicum* (Rotterdam, 1657), Hippocrates's *Aphorisms* (Leyden, 1623), a pharmacopoeia (Gouda, 1653), Rivière's *Practice of Physick* (London, 1668), Du Laurens's *Historia Anatomica* (Strassburg, 1604), Thomas Willis's *Diatribae Duae Medico-Philosophicae* (Amsterdam, 1663), and, like Nairn, works on gynaecology, by Luis de Mercado and Caspar Wolff, and Albertus Magnus, a supposititious work.

Evidence from the other clerical libraries studied also demonstrates a broad dissemination of medical material. The possession of herbals has already been noted when discussing natural history holdings. The 1672 catalogue of the books belonging to James Lundie records Bartholinus's *Anatomia*, Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica*, and Walter Charleton's *Exercitationes Pathologicae*; and John Gray owned such works as Riolan's *Ad Libros Fernelii de Abditis Rerum Causa ... Commentarius* (Paris, 1598), Fernel's *Universa Medicina* (Frankfurt, 1581), Hippocrates's *Aphorisms* (Lyons, 1547), Kaspar Bauhin's *Anatomica Corporis Virilis et Muliebris Historia*, Du Laurens's *Histoire anatomique* (Lyons, 1621), and even the first edition of William Harvey's *De Motu Cordis* (Frankfurt, 1628). Gray also owned a work by the Scot James Primrose attacking Harvey's ideas. Annand owned works by Fernel, William Ramesay (*Tractatus de Venenis* (London, 1661)), Bartholinus and Hippocrates, as well as J. B. van Helmont's *A Ternary of Paradoxes. The Magnetick Cure of Wounds* (London, 1650). Wemyss owned works by Sylvius, Riolan, Rivière, Vesalius, Fernel, Bartholinus, and Castelli. The library of the Scougals, alone of the group of libraries studied, has no medical works to speak of. Apart from this

last library, there is the clear suggestion that seventeenth-century Scottish clerics needed medical information, and that books were where they acquired it.

* * * * *

Two hundred and sixty-three items in Nairn's library have provided the basis of the above chapter, or 13.63% of the total number, 1929, of known items in his library. As philosophy, science and medicine were all so interrelated, their imprints and languages will all be investigated together. One hundred and fifty-two of the items, or 57.79%, have imprint dates of 1650 or later. This demonstrates Nairn's ability to keep up with current developments, although it should be pointed out that a considerable number of these items are contemporary printings of older texts. An analysis of imprints shows the growing preeminence of English and Dutch presses, noted already throughout Nairn's library as well as in much of the theological section:

All Imprints

England	75 (28.52%)
Scotland	4 (1.52%)
Ireland	3 (1.14%)
United Provinces	62 (23.57%)
Holy Roman Empire	52 (19.77%)
France	42 (15.97%)
Switzerland	17 (6.46%)
Spanish Netherlands	6 (2.28%)
Italy	1 (0.38%)
Spain	1 (0.38%)

Post-1649 Imprints

England	65 (42.76%)
Scotland	2 (1.32%)
Ireland	3 (1.97%)
United Provinces	45 (29.61%)
France	16 (10.53%)

Holy Roman Empire	15 (9.87%)
Switzerland	4 (2.63%)
Spanish Netherlands	1 (0.66%)
Italy	1 (0.66%)

No less than 86.67% of English imprints were printed after 1649, an indication both of the strength of the English book trade in Scotland and also of the rise of English scientific and philosophical pre-eminence. The corresponding percentage of United Provinces imprints is 72.58%. The strength of the Holy Roman Empire was more in science and medicine than in philosophy: in fact, it provided more of the thirty-five medical items than any other area, mustering twelve. (The United Provinces and England were next, with eight each.) However, the area was in serious decline after the ravages of the Thirty Years War, and this is clearly demonstrated in the comparative figures. French imprints were also on the decline, much new material by Frenchmen being printed in the freer atmosphere of the United Provinces or England. Scotland's contribution once more shows the inability of native presses to satisfy home demand. All three items from Ireland are by John Stearne.

Linguistically, the sample, as may be expected, shows once again the rise of the vernacular. However, Latin displays, in this most intellectual of subject areas, a continued predominance.

All Imprints

Latin (including 8 items in Latin and Greek)	199 (75.67%)
French	12 (4.56%)
English	52 (19.77%)

Post-1649 Imprints

Latin (including 1 item in Latin and Greek)	98 (64.48%)
French	7 (4.60%)
English	47 (30.92%)

The French language does rise as a percentage, but hardly significantly. It is English which is really gaining at Latin's expense. No other modern vernacular is represented.

* * * * *

Learning is shown at its most paradoxical in these sections of the libraries of Nairn and his clerical colleagues. Nairn obviously went out of his way to acquire books of the utmost scientific complexity and modernity, took a detailed interest in the natural world, with man at its centre, and in the structure of the earth, and amassed works by Descartes and Spinoza which stressed man's intellect and power of choice even to the extent of denying many of the most fundamental pre-suppositions of Christianity. He also amassed a fine collection of works on personal ethics, a fact which endorses the criticism levelled by Alexander Brodie of Brodie against two prominent members of the episcopalian clergy in Restoration Scotland: 'Moraliti is al that is requird in religion: Plato and Seneca of [as] much authoriti as Peter or Paul: Dr. Skougal that's dead [Henry Scougall] vented this doctrin: The Bishop his father does not disclaim or discountenanc it'.⁴²

All this may suggest a rational man of the Enlightenment in embryo. On the other hand Nairn owned, as did Leighton, the classic text on scepticism by Sextus Empiricus (548), and also Cornelius Agrippa's *De Incertitudine & Vanitate Omnium Scientiarum & Artium Liber* in an edition printed in 1653 (24), a highly popular work also owned by the Scougals, Moore, Annand and Leighton, and was collecting books describing the tears of crocodiles, demons and the casting of horoscopes.

The analysis undertaken in this chapter has demonstrated that many of the mental attitudes which made the Scottish Enlightenment possible were already present in material held in Scottish libraries in the 1660-1685 period. However a great many other attitudes and accepted truths as exemplified in Nairn's collecting would have to be jettisoned before any real enlightenment could take place.

Chapter 6. Language and Literature in the Library of James Nairn, with some Comparisons

Wherever Nairn received his pre-university education, it is certain that it would have been devoted to the study of the Latin language and the classics of ancient Latin literature, to the exclusion, in fact, of virtually anything else. The 'Ordo Scholae Grammaticae Edinensis', drawn up in the early 1640s, outlining what boys were expected to learn during their five years at the High School of Edinburgh, shows this very clearly.¹ The first year was spent on the rudiments of Latin grammar and vocabulary, and this was developed in the second year, by which time masters were to teach as much as possible in Latin. In the third year, the reading of the classics began, with Cicero, Terence and Ovid; Buchanan's Latin translations of the Psalms were also read. The fourth and fifth years deepened the study, with Virgil, Horace, Caesar, Sallust and Lucan being introduced, as well as Latin verse composition and the study of Latin rhetoric.

University education carried on in its first two years the emphasis on the ancient classics: proficiency in Latin was developed further, and Greek texts from the New Testament, Isocrates, Hesiod, Homer, and others were studied, read, memorised and recited. In the second year Latin rhetoric and Greek continued, and Hebrew was introduced in the third year, but from the second year onwards Aristotelian philosophy took over more and more time, with Latin merely a vehicle for study and expression. Once

Nairn embarked upon his divinity studies after 1650 biblical Greek and Hebrew would have been studied in greater depth.

The above *resumé* demonstrates that Latin would be the language best known to Nairn after his native tongue, with Greek being introduced much later, and Hebrew later still. In Nairn's case, the comparative familiarity and the association of the different languages with emphases on different subjects is clearly reflected in his library. There are only six works on Hebrew, designed to help Nairn specifically with theological, primarily biblical, material in the language, which is why all Hebrew material has been discussed in the theology chapter of this thesis.² This is not to say that other Scots of the time failed to master Hebrew in as great a depth as languages learnt earlier in life: Leighton, as already demonstrated, is a case in point, and Nairn's copies of the Hebrew Psalms and Lamentations (1300, 1301) were edited by a Scot, William Robertson, possibly an Edinburgh M.A. of 1645, who was to teach Hebrew at Cambridge in the 1680s.

Greek language aids, where Nairn was concerned, would also have been acquired primarily to help him with theological study. Works specifically on biblical Greek have been mentioned in the theology chapter. As already stated, the only two items in the library with continuous text solely in Greek are two New Testaments (1488, 1489), one given to Edinburgh University Library in 1673. The only other item in the bequest which would be completely useless without real knowledge of the language is a dialect dictionary by the fifth century A.D. Alexandrian, Hesychius (761), in an edition printed in Leyden in 1668, more suited to the study of

biblical Greek and the Greek Fathers than to the study of ancient Greek literary texts. Otherwise, all works in the library written originally in Greek were available to Nairn in editions containing both the original and a translation, usually Latin, or in a translation alone, again usually Latin.

Apart from the Hesychius lexicon, the bequest contains only one Greek dictionary, a Greek-Latin lexicon by Joannes Scapula (Paris, 1609) (1363), although Nairn also had eight-way and seven-way vocabularies with Greek as one of the languages covered (273, 865)³ and a three-way phrase book by Comenius with Greek once again one of the languages (London, 1662) (393). There is also only one general introduction to the Greek language, by Clenardus, in an edition revised by Gerard Vossius (Amsterdam, 1660) (1593). Some of the above could have been used by Nairn when a student at Edinburgh University, but others must have been acquired later. The vocabularies may not have been purchased with the learning of Greek particularly in mind.

Nairn's collection of ancient Greek literary texts was very poor. Despite the reading of Isocrates, Homer and Hesiod at Edinburgh University, the bequest contains no examples of their work.⁴ What it does contain is as follows: a collection of lyric poems by Pindar, Anacreon, Sappho and others ([Paris] 1566) (1202); Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* (Paris, 1619) (751); three orations by Julian the Apostate (La Flèche, 1614) (864); Aesop's fables (Leyden, 1626) (19); and two other compilations (1286 - Oxford, 1676; 1358A - Paris, 1605). Two plays by Euripides in Latin, translated by Buchanan, and included in the latter's poems

(Amsterdam, 1665) (255) should be added to these, as should Plutarch's *Moralia* in Latin (Basle, 1530 and Frankfurt, 1619) (573A, 1221), the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus of Naucratis in Latin (Lyons, 1583) (100), along with a study of that work by Isaac Casaubon (Lyons, 1600) (308), Lucian's works in Latin (Lyons, 1549 and Cologne, 1665) (956-57), Aesop's fables in French (Paris, 1631) (137), and some other collections in Latin, sometimes included in items also featuring selections of Latin authors (768 - Paris, 1578; 965 - Geneva, 1616; 1398 - Paris, 1569; 1455 - Zurich, 1543). A number of works of literary criticism discussing both Greek and Latin classical authors are also in the library. However, as Nairn's collection of Latin classics far outweighed his collection of Greek ones, these works will be noted along with his holdings of ancient Latin literature.

As can be seen from the above list, Nairn's collection of Greek texts was miscellaneous, mostly of second-hand copies, and in several cases he did not even bother to own the original Greek version. One of the newest, the Buchanan Euripides, was no doubt acquired for the association with Buchanan rather than with Euripides. The 1626 Aesop was possibly childhood reading as some of the illustrations are crudely coloured in yellow; the French version may also have been a childhood French reader.

All but two of the other clerical collections studied also show a lack of conviction in the collecting of Greek classics, which is perhaps a reflection of the comparative unimportance of literary Greek, as opposed to what could be termed theological Greek, in the educational curriculum of aspirant Scottish ministers in the seventeenth century. The collections of

James Lundie, William Annand and William Moore were particularly poor: Lundie's partial 1672 catalogue only records a copy of Plutarch's *Moralia*; Annand's 1690 sale catalogue records only Homer in English, but he also owned Scapula's and Schrevel's lexicons; and Moore's collection contained only Lucian, although he also owned two lexicons, by Schrevel and Scapula, as well as Kaspar Seidel's *Manuale Graecae Linguae* (London, 1653). The presence of these dictionaries and the grammar shows that Greek was important to the cleric - but not necessarily for the reading of secular literature.

On the other hand, several clerics ^{apart} / from Nairn did own Greek literary texts. The Scougals possessed an Orleans, 1607, edition of the comedies of Aristophanes in Greek and Latin, the *Argonautica* of Orpheus, and works by Pindar and Plutarch. They also had Scapula's lexicon and Lubin's *Clavis Graecae Linguae*. John Gray did better, owning works by Lucian, Apollodorus, Oppian, Callimachus, Heliodorus, Plutarch and Isocrates, along with Scapula's *Lexicon* (Basle, 1628), Pollux's *Onomasticon* (Basle, 1541) and Guillon's *Gnomon* (Paris, 1556). More impressive still was the collection of James Wemyss, with Budé on the Greek language, Demosthenes, Theocritus and Aeschines in Greek and Latin, Sophocles in Greek and in Greek and Latin, Scapula's lexicon, Henri Estienne's four-volume *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, Meursius's *Glossarium Graeco-Barbarum*, Hesychius's lexicon, Ruland's Greek-Latin dictionary, Aristophanes in Greek and Latin, Pindar and Callimachus in Greek, Homer's *Odyssey* and Hesiod's works. Robert Leighton's collection was even stronger, to the point of being outstanding, and demonstrates a uniquely profound clerical interest in the ancient

Greek classics. Gilbert Burnet records that Leighton 'was a great master of the Greek and had almost all their poets by heart'⁵ and his library fully bears this out. Over thirty-five titles are relevant here, including the complete works of Euripides (Basle, 1562), Aristophanes (Orleans, 1607), Homer (Leyden, 1656), Sophocles (Geneva, 1568 and Leyden, 1593), and Demosthenes (Venice, 1554) as well as a host of lesser figures and miscellaneous collections. Leighton also owned dictionaries by Scapula, Pasor, Meursius and Schrevel, and William Camden's Greek grammar.

The poverty of Nairn's collection of Greek literary works is in direct and illuminating contrast to his holdings of Latin classics, both in number and in the modernity of the editions. The pattern of ancient Latin works and imprints is worth investigating in some detail. Not counting Gavin Douglas's translation into Scots of the *Aeneid* (London, 1553) (1567), only four volumes in Nairn's library of relevance here have imprint dates prior to 1580 and only one major work is represented, the *De Natura Rerum* of Lucretius (Antwerp, 1565) (959).⁶ Sixteen items have imprint dates between 1583 and 1635. The authors represented are mostly not in the front rank, and, of those who are, the most important also have later editions representing them in the library. Apart from four items containing miscellaneous selections (695, 964-65, 1358A) the works in question are the *De Die Natali* of Censorinus (Paris, 1583) (337), Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticae* (Orleans, 1609) (652), the *Apologia* of Apuleius (Paris, 1635) (61) and the same author's complete works (Lyons, 1604) (62), Aelian's *Variae Historiae* (Geneva, 1600) (833A),⁷ selections from Cicero (Lyons, 1590) (903), Martial's epigrams (Cologne, 1623) (990), the

Metamorphoses of Ovid (Frankfurt, 1619) (1139), Lucan's *Pharsalia* (Leyden, 1614) (955), the *Satyræ* of Persius Flaccus (Paris, 1615) (1181), and the works of Sidonius Apollinaris (Paris, 1599) (1406) and Symmachus (Geneva, 1598) (1470).

All other editions of the Latin classics in Nairn's library, representing all the major figures, were printed after 1649. Their variety, demonstrating Nairn's deep and abiding interest, warrants an exhaustive listing, and their places of origin will also be given, as these are significant in relation to the imprints of the older items. The works are, purely in alphabetical order of author: Apuleius's *Golden Ass* (Gouda, 1650) (63); Ausonius's *Opera* (Amsterdam, 1671) (105); Cicero's *Opera* (Amsterdam, 1661) (361); Claudian's *Opera* (Amsterdam, 1665) (370); Horace's poems (Rotterdam, 1668) (799), and also selections in English (London, 1666) (800); Hyginus's fables (Leyden, 1670) (828); the satires of Juvenal and Persius Flaccus in Latin (Leyden, 1664) (871), along with those of Juvenal in English (London, 1667) (872); Macrobius's *Opera* (Leyden, 1670) (970); Ovid's *Opera* (Amsterdam, 1659) (1138); Petronius's *Satyricon* (Amsterdam, 1669) (68); Phaedrus's fables (Saumur, 1657) (1191); Plautus's comedies (Leyden, 1669) (1214); the letters of Pliny the Younger (Leyden, 1669) (1217); Quintilian's works (Leyden, 1665) (1248); the *Opera* of Seneca (Amsterdam, 1672) (1394), along with the tragedies of both the Senecas (Amsterdam [1650?]) (1395); the comedies of Terence (Leyden, 1657) (1485); and the works of Virgil (Rotterdam, 1666) (1566). There is also a collection of Latin epigrams printed in Paris in 1664 (246) and an edition of the first book of Lucretius's *De Natura Rerum* together with

an English verse translation by John Evelyn (London, 1656) (57). Modern imprints of works by ^{ancient} Latin historians, to be discussed in the next chapter, swell the collection further.

The overwhelming predominance of Dutch presses in the production of compact editions (all of the above are in quarto or smaller format, with the majority being in octavo or less) for the Scottish market at this time is self-evident in the above list. *As can be seen in a comparison with those classics with earlier imprints, it is French imprints which are being replaced by Dutch.* ~~from the onslaught~~ This is interesting in the knowledge that the production of the Delphin classics would soon once again promote French classical imprints.

No other clerical library studied matched Nairn's in the area of the Latin classics, either for quantity or modernity of imprints, although, with the exceptions of Wemyss and Lundie, there are more examples of Latin classics in each than of Greek classics, which is only to be expected. Moore's catalogue mentions Virgil, Juvenal, Seneca, Martial and Ovid, and that of the Scougals notes Apuleius, with two editions of the works (Lyons, 1614 and Amsterdam, 1628) as well as volume two of another undated edition, Petronius, Cicero, Virgil, Pliny and Plautus. Seneca was a particular favourite, which is interesting in the light of what Brodie said of the Scougals' religious beliefs, quoted at the end of the last chapter: there were separate editions of the works, letters and tragedies in their library, as well as a selection of 'Flores'. Gray, too, had examples of the Latin classics: Seneca, Ovid (in French), Apuleius, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Claudian, Virgil, Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Pliny, for instance.

Annand owned two copies of the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius, the works of Seneca, Petronius's *Satyricon* and the comedies of Plautus; Wemyss had the works of Virgil, Seneca, Terence, Horace, and Cicero, and two editions of Plautus. The library nearest in scope to Nairn's in this area is Leighton's, with just over thirty relevant titles, covering most of the greatest names.

Nairn owned several linguistic and literary aids to help him in his appreciation of the Latin classics, and to aid him in the general understanding of the Latin language. Several could have been used at school, like Erasmus's paraphrase of Valla's *De Elegantis Linguae Latinae* (Paris, 1537) (559) and Maturin Cordier's *Commentarius Puerorū De Quotidiano Sermone* (Paris, 1550) (407), a work owned by generations of European schoolboys. Two grammars, by J. C. Scaliger (Heidelberg, 1584) (1360) and Gerard Vossius (Leyden, 1644-45) (1594) could also have been used in student days, but two others, a detailed work by Scioppius (Amsterdam, 1659) (1372) and an elementary one by the Scot James Kirkwood (London, 1677) (884) must obviously ^{have} been acquired later. The last mentioned author may have been personally known to Nairn: he is not the same James Kirkwood who helped Nairn in his final years at Wemyss, but may well have been a relation.²

Several Latin dictionaries and word books are also in the library: one on synonyms (Antwerp, 1606) (1236); one giving the Greek and Hebrew roots of certain Latin words and names (Lyons, 1658) (621); Gerardus Vossius's *Etymologicon Linguae Latinae* (Amsterdam, 1662) (1585); a Latin/Greek/English phrasebook by Comenius (London, 1662) (393); a

dictionary founded on the work of Ambrogio Calepino, giving the equivalent of Latin words in seven different languages (Lyons, 1647) (273); and two others, arranged thematically, giving names of things in four languages (Leyden, 1640) (519B) and seven languages (Ursel, 1602) (865) respectively, including Latin.⁹ As can be seen, some of those could have been used by Nairn as student aids while others, not necessarily the most advanced, must have been adult acquisitions. Nairn may well have been called upon at Wemyss to help with the education of Lord Wemyss's son, and acquisition of items like the Comenius may have been made with this task specifically in mind. Finally, to help him in his appreciation of the classics Nairn also owned several works of criticism and elucidation, all of them embracing Greek classics as well as Latin.¹⁰

Other clerical libraries, as would be expected, also included Latin grammars, dictionaries and critical works, but none matched Nairn's holdings: Calepino's dictionary, which went through a great number of printings over many decades, giving the equivalent of Latin words in a variety of different languages, was very popular, appearing in the libraries of James Lundie, Leighton, the Scougals, Moore, Wemyss and Gray. Lundie, Annand and the Scougals owned editions of John Rider's English-Latin/English-Latin dictionary; Moore owned Smetius's *Prosodia* (Rouen, 1655) and Melanchthon's *Grammatica* (Paris, 1546); and Gray possessed an edition of Despauter's grammar printed in Glasgow in 1672. Leighton owned Holyoake's dictionary (London, 1676-77), and Gerard Vossius's *De Veterum Poetarum Temporibus* (Amsterdam, 1654), amongst other relevant works.

Latin of course continued to be a living language in the centuries following the break up of the western Roman Empire at the end of the fifth century, and was still so in the mid-seventeenth century. Most of the literary items produced in the first centuries of the Middle Ages were predominantly religious, and this is certainly true of works represented in Nairn's library. Not counting Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, mentioned in the last chapter, the only item in the collection from this period which cannot be happily classified as theological is the *Opera* of Cassiodorus (Orleans, 1609) (318). Only from the time of Petrarch is purely secular Latin literature represented in any quantity in Nairn's collection.

Nairn's post-classical Latin holdings were miscellaneous but quite extensive, numbering over forty items. They hold few surprises, but have some particular strengths. Correspondence is one, with collections of letters by, amongst others, Petrarch (1185), Bembo (165), Isaac Casaubon (309), Grotius (721), Erythraeus (1101), Politian (1225), Saumaise (1334), J. C. Scaliger (1362) and Erasmus (563), one of a clutch of items by him also including the *Adagia*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Moriae Encomium*, and *Colloquia* (556, 558, 560-62). Once again, the education of Lord Wemyss's son may have had some bearing on the acquisition of his Amsterdam, 1650, *Adagia* (558) and 1664 *Colloquia* (562). There are also seven emblem books in the bequest, another rare area in Nairn's collection where illustration is of great importance. Authors represented here are Alciati (27), Bourgoigne (53), Camerarius (280), Engelgrave (549, 549A), Hugo (822), and Paradin and Simeoni (1149). A third area of some strength is poetry, with collections

by Grotius (721), Constantijn Huygens (820), Sannazaro (1347), J. J. and J. C. Scaliger (1358, 1361), and the *Bucolica* of Mantuanus (119) prominent. The collection also contains some humorous material (16, 225, 485).''

Other Scottish clerics of the later seventeenth century also obviously enjoyed Renaissance Latin literature: Politian was a particular favourite, being represented in the libraries of Lundie, the Scougals, Moore and Leighton. Moore also owned, for instance, letters by Isaac Casaubon (Brunswick, 1656), orations by Daniel Heinsius (Leyden, 1615), letters by Paulus Manutius (Cologne, 1575), and epigrams by John Owen (Amsterdam, 1657). Renaissance and post-Renaissance latinity is particularly strong in the much larger libraries of Gray and Leighton. Gray owned, amongst a considerable number of other items, an edition of Erasmus's works printed in Basle in 1516, as well as separate editions of the *Adagia*, orations by Muret, letters by Baudius, poems by J. J. Scaliger, Manzolli, Beza, Daniel Heinsius and Francis Herring, and the complete works of Sadoletto. Leighton had on his shelves literary works in Latin by Erasmus, Grotius, Casaubon, Muret, J. J. Scaliger, Owen, Beza, Passerat, Zevecotius, Manzolli and others, representing a wide variety of output by men of varying backgrounds and viewpoints. Gray, along with Annand, shared something of Nairn's modest indulgence in emblem books: Gray owned examples by Hugo and Alciati; Annand owned examples by Alciati, Sambucus, Boissardus and Typot.

Scotsmen themselves produced fine Latin verse and, not surprisingly, examples are to be found in several of the libraries of their compatriots studied here. Nairn owned a Virgilian cento compiled by a Scotsman,

Alexander Ross (Zurich, 1664) (1313); and Buchanan's Psalm translations and poems have also already been mentioned. These two authors were far from being alone: Scottish prowess in Latin verse was commemorated in the two volume *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* printed in Amsterdam in 1637, a work not only owned by Nairn (1378), but also by the Scougals, Moore, Gray, Leighton, and Humphrey Galbraith. Another very popular poet in Latin who was of Scots descent was John Barclay, whose *Argenis* was owned by Lundie, Annand, the Scougals, Leighton and Gray; Leighton, Gray and the Scougals also owned editions of Barclay's *Satyricon*. Another Scots latinist, Andrew Melville, was represented in Gray's library by his *Nusae* (Edinburgh? 1620), while William Moore owned the rare first printing of Melville's *Carmen Mosis* (Basle, 1574) and also Buchanan's *Baptistes*. Wemyss's library contained the *Poemata Sacra* of Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews (London, 1619).

Composition of Latin poetry was still continuing in Scotland in the Restoration period. One of Nairn's last acquisitions must have been the *Epigrammatum Libri Octo* of Ninian Paterson (1164), evidence in the item showing it to have been issued in Edinburgh in, or shortly after, February 1678. This work was also owned by Gray, Annand and, possibly, Leighton: it is not in the latter's holograph catalogue, but an imperfect copy is preserved in the Leighton Library at Dunblane. Paterson, at the time of publication, was Minister of Liberton and obviously well acquainted with Nairn because three substantial poems (the sixth and seventh poems of book two and the first poem of book three) are in his praise, Nairn being described as Paterson's 'most dear friend', and 'father, brother and

friend', as well as being 'in piety, learning and eloquence the most illustrious ornament of his age'. Amongst other contemporaries also eulogised in this collection are Lawrence Charteris, James Gregory the mathematician, Walter Paterson, who was a fellow 'evangelist' of Nairn's in 1670, Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow, and Charles Lumsden, Minister of Duddingston. Thus at least one of Nairn's circle of colleagues was actively carrying on the Scottish tradition of composing Latin poetry. However, the verses are stereotyped and confused in style, and the prevalent feeling in trying to understand their twisted syntax is that Paterson was at the very end of a literary tradition.¹²

It was of course the rise of energetic, infinitely adaptable and subtle vernaculars which led to the irrevocable decline of Latin as a literary vehicle. Where the English language is concerned the glories of its literature have never been greater than in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, from an examination of their libraries, it is all too clear that a great section of this literary genius passed Nairn and his clerical colleagues by completely. Writers on the early history of Edinburgh University Library have lamented that in the collection of books given to the library by the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden in the 1620s 'there are surprisingly few of the plums of that heyday of English drama that were there for the picking. Shakespeare is represented only by two quartos ... and though there are many fine things in Drummond's library the thought of what it might have been is a saddening one.'¹³ Nairn's collection is devoid of English drama, a situation also reflected in all but one of the libraries of his clerical contemporaries: the

solitary exception is Massinger's morally irreproachable *Maid of Honour* (London, 1632) in the library of the Scougals.

There were certainly performances of drama in Edinburgh in the Restoration period, and play texts were imported from the south: Archibald Hislop's account books demonstrate this quite clearly, with new plays by Dryden, Shadwell and Wycherley mentioned separately, as well as entries such as '8 new playes' or '2 Mackbeths'.¹⁴ In one letter sent to Hislop in October 1672, the London bookseller Richard Royston declares 'There are none of Shaikspires Plays to be had singell'.¹⁵ Obviously Hislop had been asking for copies.

The young John Lauder was also collecting plays: his catalogue of books purchased between 1667 and the late 1670s includes, for example, Dryden's *Indian Emperor*, *Tyrannic Love*, and *The Conquest of Grenada*, as well as Shadwell's *The Libertine*, Aphra Behn's *The Town Fop*, Elkannah Settle's *Empress of Morocco*, William Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer*, D'Urfey's *Madame Fickle* and '4 Comoedies, viz.: Love in a Nunnery, Marriage a la mode, Epsom-Wells and Mcbeth's tragedy'. He also owned William Clarke's *Marciano*, which had been produced at Holyrood in 1663.¹⁶ No clergyman, however, could have attended a performance of a play at this time and hoped to continue his ministry; and perhaps collecting English plays was also regarded by clergymen as morally reprehensible. Indeed, James Wemyss owned a work by John Rainolds entitled *The Overthrow of Stage-Playes* (Oxford, 1629). This sensibility was in fact paradoxical for material in other languages far more licentious than anything to be found in any English play was to be found in the libraries of Nairn and his colleagues,

a point which will be investigated further later in this chapter. Mildly salacious and satirical material in the English language in literary forms other than drama was also to be found in Nairn's library, and in those of two of the other clerical collectors studied, although not in any quantity. Only two relevant items occur in Nairn's collection, the various 'paradoxes', 'newes' and 'characters' incorporated into *Sir Thomas Overbury his Wife. With Additions of New Characters and Many Other Witty Conceits*, sixteenth impression (London, 1638) (1137), and John Cleveland's *Poems* (London, 1662) (372), an item containing a considerable amount of light-hearted and mildly *risqué* material. Light-hearted and satirical English literature in other libraries appears to be restricted to an edition of John Taylor's *The Sculler* owned by the Scougals, and Butler's *Hudibras*, complete (London, 1678), owned by William Annand.

None of the clerics owned the sort of ephemeral anonymous material being sold to other secular collectors in Scotland during this period; or at least possession is not recorded in extant catalogues. John Lauder owned a few examples: 'Gregory Grey Beard', 'New jests or witty Reparties', 'Mother Gregs Jests'.¹⁷ Archibald Hislop's importation accounts record this genre in some quantity, with such titles as 'Witts Recreations', 'Merrey drollery', and 'Poor Robin Jests'.¹⁸ Hislop was merely carrying on a long-standing tradition: the wills of Edinburgh booksellers of the previous century also record such material.¹⁹

Secular English literary prose in Nairn's collection is very thin on the ground. The great bulk of English prose with literary merit in Nairn's collection has strong religious overtones: Sir Thomas Browne's

Religio Medici, fifth edition (London, 1659) (1268), or Jeremy Taylor's *Rules and Exercises*, tenth edition (London, 1674) (1482), or works by Henry More are cases in point. Apart from the Overbury mentioned above, only two items cannot be accommodated happily in the theology section of his library. These are Henry Wotton's *Reliquiae*, third edition (London, 1672) (1647), containing Walton's *Life*, and miscellaneous pieces by Bacon (109, 109A, 109B). Both contain a high proportion of historical material.

Nairn's holdings of English poetry were more extensive but not particularly impressive in bulk, although containing some very eminent names. Apart from the Cleveland and parts of the Overbury and Wotton already mentioned, he owned part one of Michael Drayton's *Polyolbion* (London [1612]) (529); John Donne's *Poems*, fourth edition, second issue (London, 1650) (522); George Herbert's *The Temple*, tenth edition (London, 1674), probably bound with Christopher Harvey's *The Synagogue*, sixth edition (London, 1673) (753); Henry More's *Ψυχωδica Platonica* (Cambridge, 1642) (1060); and the second edition of Books I-III of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (London, 1596), probably bound with the first edition of Books IV-VI (1430). There are also translations by Sylvester (131), Evelyn (570), Stapleton (872), Fanshawe and Cowley (800). All this is a miscellaneous accumulation, although there was an understandable tendency towards devotional poetry. Anglicanism and royalist sentiments were also strong. There was no Scottish poetry at all apart from Gavin Douglas's translation of the *Aeneid* (London, 1553) (1567).

Anglicanism and royalism were also manifest in the literary collections of the other Scottish Restoration clerics whose libraries have

been studied, and the presence of some Scottish poetical material helps to redeem the dearth in Nairn's library. The most uniformly popular author was George Herbert: his *The Temple* (Cambridge, 1638) is the only literary work in English recorded in the 1744 catalogue of the library of William Moore, and the Scougals owned a London, 1667, edition as well as the second, London, 1671, edition of *A Priest to the Temple*, while John Gray owned the *Remains* of 1652. Leighton also owned the 1652 *Remains* and an unknown edition of *The Temple*. Other relevant works in the Scougals' library, apart from John Taylor's *The Sculler* already noted, were the poetic collection *The Muses Welcome* (Edinburgh, 1618) compiled for James VI's visit to Edinburgh in 1617, Sir William Alexander's *Doomes-day* (Edinburgh, 1614), the *Poems* (Cambridge, 1646) by John Hall (1627-1656), Nathaniel Ingelo's *Bentivoglio and Urania*, second edition (London, 1669), Francis Osborne's *A Miscellany of Sundry Essayes* (London, 1659), and a 1645 edition of Browne's *Religio Medici*. Annand owned an edition of Quarles's *Emblems*, which reflects an already noted liking for this genre, an edition of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy, The Muses Welcome* (Edinburgh, 1618), Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, 'old ed', and, as already mentioned, Butler's *Hudibras*.

The English literature sections of Gray's library and that of Wemyss were really very poor, especially given the overall size of their libraries: Wemyss owned only an Oxford, 1632, edition of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and Bacon's *Essayes* (London, 1625); Gray had the fifth edition of Abraham Cowley's *Works* (London, 1678), which does not contain his play *The Guardian*, and Walton's *Lives* (London, 1670). Leighton's collection was

somewhat larger. As well as totally excluding the flippant it included several of the titles already recorded in other clerical libraries, and reflected the tastes exemplified in his theological and philosophical collections: Wotton's *Reliquiae*, second edition (London, 1654); Browne's *Religio Medici* in its first authorised edition, London, 1643, as well the first edition of Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (London, 1646); Donne's *Letters* (London, 1654) and *Devotions*, fifth edition (London, 1638); Cornwallis's *Essays* (London, 1632); Francis Osborne's *A Miscellany of Sundry Essayes* (London, 1659); More's *Philosophicall Poems* (Cambridge, 1647); Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple*; and Bacon's essays.

Nairn was known in his own time as a fine preacher. Did any literary works in English owned by him influence his style? In his approach, he followed the method of Leighton and certain other Scottish clerics, branded by opponents as 'the haranguing way'. A critic, Robert Baillie, described it as running 'out in a discourse on some common head, in a high, romancing, unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, bot leaving ... little or nought to the memorie and understanding'.²⁰ Burnet makes the following, more charitable, comments on Nairn's preaching style, which are most illuminating in explaining his particular technique:

His preaching charmed me, ther was a beauty of expression, a trueth of reasoning and a noblenes of thought in it beyond any thing I had formerly heard, so I resolved to make him my pattern ... I observed he preached upon litle study tho by hearing him I thought every word was chosen with a particular care ... he spent much time every day in meditating and accustomed him selfe to speak out his thoughts and to form them into proper expressions upon all occasions.²¹

Burnet records in his autobiography how he developed his own sermon technique:

I saw what a labour preaching was to manny [sic] who wrote their sermons and then got them by heart, for none do read in Scotland, so I resolved to follow a freer and easier way the hints of which I had from Mr. Nairn. I read the Scripture with great application and got a great deal of it by heart and accustomed my selfe ... to repeat parcells of it. ... I accustomed my selfe on all occasions to form my meditations into discourse and spoke aloud what occurred to my thoughts.²²

It is clear from these passages that Nairn did not deliver his sermons from a carefully prepared text and perhaps did not even have headings written down for guidance. Any literary influence upon him was thus probably from a wide variety of sources. The sermons by Nairn that have survived are clearly paraphrases, in the hands of others, and can give no real flavour of what it must have been like to hear him.

The group of nine works on rhetoric, eloquence and the conversational arts that Nairn owned may have influenced him in his sermonising to some extent, although two of these, both by Gerardus Vossius, are works written in Latin, about Latin rhetorical style, and designed for student use (1590B, 1595).²³ They could well have been used by Nairn at Edinburgh University. A listing of the others show them to be miscellaneous in emphasis, origin, date and language: Aristotle on rhetoric in a French translation (Paris, 1675) (977); the Jesuits Nicolas Caussin on sacred and human eloquence, written in Latin (Lyons, 1643) (335) and Gérard Pelletier on the rhetorical methods of the Jesuits, written in Latin (Lyons, 1653) (1142); *The Art of Speaking: written in French, by Messieurs du Port-Royal ... Rendred into English*, the original usually attributed now to Bernard Lamy, a cleric and advocate of Cartesian philosophy (London, 1676)

(94); *A Philosophicall Discourse Concerning Speech, Conformable to the Cartesian Principles ... Englished out of French* by Géraud de Cordemoy ([London] 1668) (511); J. A. Weber on the art of discoursing on any given subject, written in Latin (Nuremberg, 1671) (1611); and Stefano Guazzo (1530-1593) on the conversational arts, in Latin, translated from the original Italian (Leyden, 1650) (726).

The works on rhetoric owned by other clerics were not even as numerous as Nairn's small collection, reflecting their practical uselessness to the Scottish clergyman: Gray owned the Lamy in French (Paris, 1676) and a Latin work by Tesmarus printed in Amsterdam in 1657; Moore owned Melanchthon and Ramus on Latin rhetoric, both in sixteenth-century editions which could well have been used in student days; the Scougals owned Aristotle on rhetoric and also Guazzo's *De Civili Conversatione*. Items specifically devoted to formal rhetoric were completely absent from Leighton's collection, and from those of Annand, Lundie and Wemyss.

English philology was not very well served in any library: Nairn owned no works on grammar at all and only one dictionary, although it was a very recent and highly erudite one, Stephen Skinner's *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae* (London, 1671) (1420). Of all the other libraries studied, Annand had the most in this field, with Edward Phillips's *The New World of Words*, second edition (London, 1662), Skinner's *Etymologicon* and Thomas Blount's *Glossographia, or a Dictionary*, third edition (London, 1670). Gray also owned an edition of Phillips's *The New World of Words* (London, 1671).

Works on the French and Italian languages were more numerous in Nairn's library. These included two Italian grammars, both explained in French (519 - Leyden, 1641; 1130 - Paris, 1639), a contemporary Italian dictionary (London, 1659) (1521), and two guides to the French language, one using German to explain the grammar (519A - Leyden, 1639; 1224 - Paris, 1656), and one dictionary, that of Guy Miège, printed in London in the year before Nairn's death (1029). Added to these, and also serving other modern vernaculars, were Calepino's dictionary giving the equivalents in seven languages (Hebrew, Greek, French, Italian, German, Spanish, English) of Latin words (Lyons, 1647) (273) and two vocabularies, arranged thematically, one in four languages (French, Latin, Italian, German) (Leyden, 1640) (519B) and the other, by A. Junius, in seven (Latin, Greek, German, Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish) (Ursel, 1602) (865).²⁴

Whether Nairn used the last three mentioned works to study German, Dutch or Spanish is not known. He certainly owned no texts in Spanish and only one pamphlet item containing some Dutch (1581B). Only three items were in German: a New Testament, included in an item also giving the text in Greek and Latin (186); the French grammar explained in German mentioned above (519A); and a work on the Anabaptists, also giving the text in Latin (1128). Item 519A was perhaps a bonus item, not particularly wanted, but already bound, when purchased by Nairn, behind item 519, the Italian grammar explained in French.²⁵ Perhaps the New Testament was purchased as an potential aid to learning the German language: the lack of independent texts suggests he did not get very far.

Where French and Italian were concerned, however, apart from the evidence of the two recent (1659 and 1677) dictionaries, the presence in Nairn's library of a considerable number of works on all subjects written in these languages shows a working familiarity with them. It is very likely that he learnt French and Latin privately when a child or adolescent: there were certainly language teachers in Edinburgh at this time.²⁶ The fact that two elementary guides to Latin, both sixteenth-century imprints, are in French (407, 559), suggests early exposure to the language, as does a copy of Aesop in French (Paris, 1631) (137). His Italian Bible (185) is a 1641 edition and might also have been used as a language aid.

As has been already remarked, editions of Calepino's dictionary were owned by the Scougals, Lundie, Wemyss, Moore, Leighton and Gray as well as by Nairn. The Scougals, Gray and Wemyss owned editions giving the equivalents of the Latin words in ten languages: Hebrew, Greek, French, Italian, German, Flemish, Spanish, Polish, Magyar, and English. Moore's 1584 edition gave equivalents in seven languages (Hebrew, Greek, French, Italian, German, Flemish, Spanish), and Leighton's 1580 edition in six: Hebrew, Greek, French, Italian, German, and Spanish.

To what extent were those contemporary vernaculars included in the various Calepino editions studied? No library had any title in either Polish or Magyar, and I have noticed no item solely in Flemish or German in any library, nor any detailed philological aid for any of these languages. Spanish appears to have been restricted to the libraries of Wemyss (one item only, *La Verdadera Historia del Rey Don Rodrigo*

(Zaragossa, 1603)), the Scougals (one item, an English liturgy in Spanish) and Leighton. The Scougal item was surely acquired as an elementary language reader; Leighton's collection of works in and about Spanish cannot have exceeded single figures. Works in Italian, except in Leighton's collection and in that of Nairn, were also very sparse, and French was the only other vernacular apart from English represented in any quantity. The early catalogues of the library of the Scougals, for example, only record one title in Italian, an edition of Castiglione's *Courtier* in Italian, although they also possessed William Thomas's *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar, with a Dictionarie* (London, 1567), and an Italian-Latin dictionary. Likewise, they owned several aids to the French language, including Cotgrave's English-French dictionary (London, 1611), La Primaudaye's *French Academie* (London, 1589 and 1605) and an edition of Robert Estienne's French-Latin dictionary, even although items in French were not particularly numerous in their collection. Moore owned nothing in Italian, and only one item in French, although he too owned a grammar, by De Fenne, explained in Latin (Leyden, 1666). The 1949 printed catalogue of John Gray's library records only two items, by Macchiavelli, in Italian, supported by César Oudin's *Grammaire italien* (Paris, 1645), but a considerable number of items in French, supported by *The French Schoolemaister* of Claude de Sainliens (London, 1582) on pronunciation and two French-Latin dictionaries (Geneva, 1620 and Paris, 1669). Wemyss's items in French were supported by an edition of Cotgrave's dictionary; his few Italian items were served by Thomas's *Principall Rules*, another

Italian grammar, in French, and Venuti's *Dittionario Italiano e Francese* ([Geneva] 1626).

Leighton had the most wide-ranging philological collection, which is appropriate because the range of languages represented in his library was wider than in any other. He owned Méric Casaubon on Anglo-Saxon (in his *De Quatuor Linguis*), Oudin's Spanish-French dictionary, as well as some other aids to the Spanish language by the same author, and even Erpenius's *Rudimenta Linguae Arabicae* (Paris, 1638). John Florio's Italian-English dictionary (London, 1611), Italian dialogues by Garnier ([Geneva] 1627 and 1628), an Italian-Latin dictionary (Venice, 1590), and Italian-French and French-Italian dictionaries (Geneva, 1626) were also in his library, as well as an edition of the multilingual vocabulary by Junius (Geneva, 1619), another edition of which was owned by Nairn. Leighton's edition added English to the seven languages covered by Nairn's copy. Finally, he owned another eight-language word book covering Latin, French, Flemish, German, Spanish, Italian, English, and Portuguese (London, 1639).

Although most items in all the clerical libraries studied were either in English or Latin, the above survey shows considerable linguistic cosmopolitanism in most of the collections studied. However, it was not primarily extended to literature, for, of the clerical collections examined, only the libraries of Nairn, Leighton, Wemyss and Gray included any works of literature in any foreign vernacular. Of these, Wemyss's sole representatives were Ronsard's *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1604) and the *Oeuvres poétiques* of Du Bartas (Rouen, 1616), although he also owned Florio's translation of Montaigne's essays (London, 1616) and a French translation

of *Don Quixote* (Paris, 1625). Gray's library contained only four literary items in French: the Sieur de Balzac's *Socrate chrestien* (Amsterdam, 1662); Du Souhait's *Les Amours de Celidor* (Paris, 1601); Du Bartas's *Oeuvres poétiques* (Rouen, 1616); and the works of Voiture (Paris, 1650). Gray also owned an edition of Balzac's letters in English (London, 1638).

Leighton did slightly better, but still owned fewer than ten works representing the whole vernacular literary output of western continental Europe since 1500. French was represented by Montaigne's *Essais* (Paris, 1636), Du Bartas's *Oeuvres poetiques* ([Geneva?] 1601), Balzac's letters (Paris, 1624 and 1636), an edition of the works of Philippe Desportes, eulogies by Antoine Godeau (Paris, 1665 and 1667), and Ronsard's *Hymne du ciel* (Paris, 1613). Selected works of Quevedo (Pamplona, 1631) alone represented Spanish literature, although Oudin's philological guides contain some literary material; and Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* represented Italian, along with three Petrarch sonnets included in Leighton's edition of Garnier's dialogues.

It was Nairn who had the greatest holdings in this area, and even his collection numbered less than twenty works. In French there are the letters of the Sieur de Balzac, eighth edition (Paris, 1630) (117), eulogies by Antoine Godeau (Paris, 1667) (681), two titles by Beroalde de Verville (1082, 1555), and one by Henri Estienne (1447). Works by Du Bartas, La Noue and Pibrac were owned in English translation (131). Representing Italian literature are Boccaccio's *Decameron* in Italian and French (208 - Florence, 1573; 209 - Paris, 1629), a comedy by Luigi Groto in Italian and French (Paris, 1609) (722), Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, also in Italian and

French (Paris, 1661) (725), dialogues by Speroni (Venice, 1596) (1433), Tasso's *Il Rinaldo* (Venice, 1621) (1479A) and his *Il Secretario* and a collection of letters (Venice, 1592) (1478), as well as a life of Tasso (1479), and works by Gregorio Leti (116, 951) and Ferrante Pallavicino (Geneva, 1660) (1145).²⁷ Nairn also owned an odd volume of the *novelle* of Matteo Bandello in a French translation (160).

Despite the varied nature of the above, two themes worth noting are present. The first is satirical comment against Rome, and the second is the presence of material whose zestful portrayal of immorality might be expected to have alienated a Scottish seventeenth-century clergyman completely. The presence of anti-Catholic material has already been noted when dealing with theological material. Leti's *Il Puttanismo Romano ... Satira Comica* (London, 1669) (116) should be mentioned here. Pallavicino's *Il Divortio Celeste* (1145) is in the same scurrilous vein, and Estienne's *Apologie pour Hérodote* (1447) also bitterly attacks the Roman Church. Anti-Catholic sentiments are also present in several Latin literary works, notably Erasmus's *Moriae Encomium* (560) and Erythraeus's *Eudemiae* (1102).

Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* has been described by John Addington Symonds in his article on the author in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as being 'steeped in sensuousness; and the immodesty of its pictures is enhanced by rhetorical concealments more provocative than nudity'. Today, this would be regarded as highly exaggerated, but a Scottish cleric two centuries before Symonds may well have been expected to have nodded in agreement. The article on Bandello in the same edition of the same encyclopaedia declares that his *novelle* 'are disfigured by the

grossest obscenity',²⁸ while Beroalde de Verville, according to the *Grand Larousse encyclopédique* of 1960, uses 'une langue riche et savoureuse, souvent erotique et gaillarde'. His *Le Moyen de parvenir* (1082) in particular contains 'contes libres ou obscènes'. The editions of the *Decameron* owned by Nairn are particularly interesting to examine. The Italian edition (208) is bowdlerised in a very odd way: the bawdy and licence remain but where a cleric is misbehaving in the original, the character in this version becomes a layman. The French translation (209) has not been tampered with. If the absence of plays in English was due to moral scruples, then all this foreign material shows a double standard operating.

Other clerical libraries studied have so few literary works in the vernacular that theories of censorship cannot be tested, although Leighton, as already mentioned, did own *Il Pastor Fido*. However, they can be tested on holdings of ancient literature. Many of the Latin classics, notably Apuleius, Petronius and Ovid, contain vivacious descriptions of behaviour far removed from what could be regarded as upright conduct in seventeenth-century Scotland, and yet Nairn had the complete works of the these three, as well as of others, in unexpurgated versions. The libraries of Leighton, the Scougals and Wemyss contained *Lysistrata*, and the Scougals also owned Apuleius, Plautus and Petronius, as did Annand, while Moore owned Ovid's works and Gray owned Ovid in French, Apuleius, Catullus and Plautus.

Edinburgh University Library, incidentally, purchased the works of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius in 1639, the works of Ovid in 1640, was

given Apuleius's *Golden Ass* in 1631, bought the same edition of the *Satyricon* as Nairn owned with money bequeathed by the wife of an Edinburgh merchant in 1667, and was given the complete works of Aristophanes, in the same edition as owned by Leighton and the Scougals, in 1671. There was certainly no moral censorship operating here, although it is very unlikely that certain passages would have been put into the hands of students: a commission of 1647, making observations and recommendations about the Edinburgh University curriculum stated that 'it is thought fit that select parts of poets be taught to scholars, namely, such as are free of obscenity'.²⁹

Some clerics found the gap between literary excellence and immorality too wide to accept, even if decently cloaked in a learned language. Robert Blair (1593-1666) narrates how in his early twenties

looking for a book in my press, I lighted upon another which I was not seeking, called 'Petronius Arbiter'. This book I heard some commend for an excellent Latin diction, both in prose and metre, and upon this account I bought it, but until that day I had never read any part of it; but then where it opened to me I fell a reading, and did find, under the veil of most elegant words, the most base matter ... filthy poisons sugared and gilded with very ornate words ... I went to the fire, and with my tongs I lifted out the best burning coal, and laid in this book in the place of it ... O with how great circumspection ought we and others, especially young ones, to consider what books they have read or read, lest unawares they swallow down soul-poison.³⁰

Nairn and his fellows in the Restoration church in Scotland, however, obviously felt that they could cope perfectly well with 'soul-poison' on their library shelves.

* * * * *

One hundred and ninety-seven works in Nairn's library provide the basis for this chapter, that is 10.21% of the total known maximum number of

titles (1929). There is perhaps little point in undertaking a linguistic analysis of these works, as the subject and the language are so intimately related. However, a brief statistical survey emphasises once more the great and enduring strength of the Latin language in Nairn's literary and linguistic collection. This is shown in the following table:

All Imprints

Latin, or Latin with another language	147	(74.62%)
Greek alone	1	(0.51%)
French	15	(7.61%)
English, including 2 items in Eng. and Italian	22	(11.17%)
Italian, including 2 items in French and Italian	11	(5.58%)
Scots	1	(0.51%)

Post-1649 Imprints

Latin, or Latin with another language	54	(69.23%)
French	4	(5.13%)
English, including 1 item in English and Italian	15	(19.23%)
Italian, including 1 item in French and Italian	5	(6.41%)

English and, to a lesser extent, Italian are on the increase, but the increase is hardly dramatic, while the showing of French is very poor indeed. Latin's pre-eminence is still very apparent, helped by Nairn's fine collection of contemporary printings of the classics. It must also be remembered that not all works in the vernacular were original literary works: several works in English and French, and the only work in Scots, are either translations of the ancient classics, or critical works on them. One of the post-1649 French works is a translation of Aristotle, and two older items in French are a translation of Aesop and a collection of stories mainly from classical authors. Of the fourteen post-1649 items solely in English, one comprises translations from Horace, two more are studies of ancient authors, and a fourth is on rhetoric. Only the Italian

representatives are of totally post-classical literature. Clearly, a very large section of contemporary literary activity in Britain and France was passing Nairn by.

~~Analysing by imprint~~ ^{by imprint} A statistical breakdown of the 195 items with known origins (two more have unknown imprints) is as follows:

All imprints

United Provinces	48 (24.61%)
France	46 (23.59%)
Holy Roman Empire	35 (17.95%)
England	34 (17.43%)
Scotland	1 (0.51%)
Switzerland	15 (7.69%)
Spanish Netherlands	11 (5.64%)
Italy	5 (2.56%)

Post-1649 Imprints

United Provinces	31 (39.74%)
France	8 (10.26%)
Holy Roman Empire	7 (8.97%)
England	24 (30.77%)
Scotland	1 (1.28%)
Switzerland	4 (5.13%)
Spanish Netherlands	3 (3.85%)

The seventy-eight post-1649 imprints comprise 39.59% of the total 197. As can be seen, the share of the United Provinces has increased dramatically, and England's proportion increased almost by the same amount. The other countries, apart from Scotland with its sole contribution, the Latin poems by Ninian Paterson, show a marked falling off. The discrepancy between imprint and language in the Italian items is due to anti-papal works by Gregorio Leti and Ferrante Pallavicino printed outside Italy and a bilingual edition of a play by Guarini printed in Paris.

It was the Dutch editions of the classics which contributed most to the rise of Dutch presses at the expense of the French in Nairn's library, as has already been pointed out. A brief statistical analysis of Nairn's editions of the literary classics of Greece and Rome (works produced before 450 A.D.) shows this very clearly. Fifty-four items are involved, of which twenty-three are post-1649, or 42.59%. Of the fifty-four, France and the United Provinces provided nineteen each, or 35.19%, each. The Holy Roman Empire, England, the Spanish Netherlands and Switzerland all provided four each (7.40%), the four from the Spanish Netherlands all being printed before the Revolt. Of the twenty-three post-1649 items, however, France has dropped to three (13.04%), England to two (8.70%), and the Holy Roman Empire to one (4.35%), while Switzerland and the Spanish Netherlands disappear altogether. On the other hand, the United Provinces provided no less than seventeen, or 73.91%. Something of this same Dutch predominance is also to be seen in the next section of Nairn's library to be examined, his fine collection of historical works.

* * * * *

Nairn's literary and language holdings are perhaps the most random of any of the major subject areas covered in his library and their proportion of the whole library, 10.21%, is hardly impressive. The range is very wide - there is for example one work containing Arabic and Hebrew aphorisms in Latin (539), one work on hieroglyphs (1198), and *An Historical Essay Endeavoring a Probability that the Language of ... China is the Primitive Language* (London, 1669) (1610) - but not particularly deep in any area

apart from the Latin classics, and there are several undeveloped odds and ends.

Several other clerics collected almost as widely, even if they did not own so many examples of each genre. Leighton's holdings were often wider than Nairn's, while only Leighton's collection of Greek literature showed a depth comparable to Nairn's holdings of Latin classics. Literary holdings in modern vernaculars were generally very poor, and even Nairn's were not particularly impressive; Scottish clerics at this time seemed far more interested in collecting post-mediaeval Latin literary works. They were broad-minded when collecting salacious material in ancient languages but generally narrow-minded over racy material in the English language, Nairn being the most lenient in this respect. A final point of interest in examining this part of Nairn's library and the corresponding part of other contemporary clerical collections is that they suggest the sort of material a Scot in the mid-seventeenth century may have used to master Latin, Greek and the vernaculars of Europe.

Chapter 7. History and Current Affairs, with Geography and Travel;
Political Theory and Law; and Miscellaneous Subjects in the
Library of James Nairn, with Some Comparisons

A: *History and Current Affairs, with Geography and Travel*

History was not on the curriculum either of the High School or of the University of Edinburgh in Nairn's time, although Caesar was one of the authors recommended for study in the fourth year at the High School, according to the *Ordo* drawn up in the early 1640s.¹ Geography, however, was touched upon during the last year at university: the 1628 Edinburgh University curriculum specifically mentions that the *Rudimenta Cosmographica* of Johannes Honter was to be taught, a work couched in Latin verse and as rudimentary as its title proclaims.²

Despite this very slight formal introduction to history and geography, Nairn's library contained an impressive range of just under two hundred historical works, along with eight works on general geography, eighteen works either on the geography of particular areas or giving accounts of travels, and two pamphlet volumes containing seventy-two (seventy different) items concerning events in Scotland and England between the late 1630s and early 1650s. It should be remembered that these figures do not include works purely on ecclesiastical history, which swell the total number of historical items considerably. Church history has already been dealt with in chapter four above, although it should also be pointed out

that ecclesiastical affairs figure in many accounts which are predominantly secular and are thus within the remit of this chapter.

Rather than laboriously go through all the works, describing them area by area, and noting their interrelationships, it is easiest to show Nairn's enthusiastic interest in history and the comprehensiveness of his collection in tabular form. In the following table items printed after 1649 are underlined, and items with an important subsidiary theme are listed twice, in ordinary type where the subsidiary theme is concerned:

General history: 101A, 217, 278, 282, 654, 803-05, 861, 899, 968, 1034, 1094, 1229, 1326, 1518, 1526

Methodology: 213

Ancient history:

General (including material on both Greece and Rome) and miscellaneous: 21, 112, 240, 397A, 499, 572, 577, 869, 989, 1099, 1183, 1220, 1228, 1254, 1391, 1462, 1519, 1543, 1548

Greece (up to c.500 A.D.): 216, 443, 760, 1510, 1587, 1651

Rome (up to c.500 A.D.): 60, 272, 500, 505, 655, 759, 774, 856, 898, 949, 979-80, 1120, 1163, 1273, 1336, 1407, 1467, 1472-73, 1543, 1557, 1588, 1660

Europe, general, from the end of the western Roman Empire:

c.500-1500: 851, 1291 + 661 (Crusades) and 290 (Byzantium)

c.1500-1600: 266, 728, 962, 1195, 1422, 1468, 1508-09

c.1600-1670s: 236, 776, 962, 1155, 1195, 1351, 1417 + 657 (geography) and 1258 (travels)

Scotland: 214, 254, 1669-70

Ireland: 1439

Great Britain as a whole/England:

General and before 1500: 5, 265, 279, 356, 421, 664, 734, 756, 764, 904,
1271

The sixteenth century: 693, 1097, 1271

The seventeenth century: 340, 419, 546, 734A, 1030, 1421, 1669-70,
1673/3-4

France:

General and before 1500: 18, 267, 618, 668, 711, 711A, 860, 1260, 1270

c.1500-1610: 238, 274, 480, 698, 780, 1011, 1126, 1562

1610-1670s: 118, 174, 1165, 1226, 1242, 1525, 1552 + 1415 (geography)

Spain: 54, 1381

The Spanish Netherlands and United Provinces: 168, 718, 728, 1458, 1665

Italy: 293, 581, 727, 857, 999, 1019, 1241, 1272, 1326, 1408 +
1369 (geography)

Switzerland: 1276, 1412

Poland and North-East Europe: 1195, 1278-79

Scandinavia: 509, 950, 1275

Germany and Central Europe: 101, 357, 429, 711, 825, 1001-02, 1105, 1269,
1274, 1274A

Russia and the Ukraine: 510, 1277

Middle East:

Moslem countries: 266, 444, 814, 1002, 1280, 1324, 1495A, 1551 + 166,
422, 730 and 1096 (travels, 730 being spurious)

Palestine, geography: 750

Jewish civilisation and history: 15, 171, 440, 733, 814A, 856, 1409,
1474A

Ancient geography: 210

North Africa: 15, 923, 1087, 1616A + 166 and 615 (travels)

Central Asia and China: 510, 692, 778, 1106, 1495B, 1528

America:

Description: 7, 207 (Jamaica), 902

Travel: 925 (Brazil), 1095 (voyages of early explorers)

General and miscellaneous collected biography: 218 (portraits without text), 441, 792, 858, 971, 1103, 1184

Miscellaneous accounts of travel: 527 (Drake's circumnavigation),
1546 (miscellaneous voyages of discovery)

General geography: 381, 623, 802, 1098, 1124, 1456, 1545, 1599

The historical items listed in the above table include material with a wide variety of emphases: constitutional history, for example William Hakewel's *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum: or the Old Manner of Parliaments in England* (London, 1671, 1670) (734); military history, for example *De Armis Romanis*, by Albericus Gentilis (655); political history, including current political affairs, often inextricably mixed up with ecclesiastical affairs; social history, embracing what today would be regarded as sociology or social anthropology, for example *Mores, Leges et Ritus Omnium Gentium*, edited by Joannes Boemus (217), or Méric Casaubon's *A Treatise of Use and Custome* (1526); and archaeological and antiquarian studies, for example Camden's *Britannia* (279) or Rous's *Archaeologiae Atticae* (216). Material ancillary to the study of ancient history has also been included: works on strategy by Vegetius, Frontinus, Polybius, Aelianus Tacticus and others (1462, 1548); and works on ancient weights, coins and measures

(21, 240). General and miscellaneous biography has also been included in the table.

Many of the greatest historical writers are present: among the moderns, Guicciardini (727), de Thou (1508-09), Macchiavelli (999), Bodin (213), Buchanan (254), and Raleigh (1254), in miscellaneous editions; among the ancients, Livy, Sallust, Justinus, Velleius Paterculus, Xenophon, Curtius Rufus, Thucydides, Eusebius, Josephus, Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos, Caesar, Suetonius, Polybius, Tacitus and Herodotus. In the latter group, as with Nairn's collection of Latin literary classics, post-1649 Dutch editions are strong. Of the authors mentioned immediately above, only Thucydides, Polybius, Plutarch, Herodotus, Xenophon and Tacitus are represented in pre-1650 editions, and, interestingly, all of these except Tacitus are Greek historians. In fact, all other ancient historians originally writing in Greek represented in Nairn's library and not already mentioned (Appian (60), Dion Cassius (500), Dionysius Halicarnassus (505), Herodian (759) and Diodorus Siculus (499)) are present in editions printed before 1650, and of these Nairn only possessed the Greek text of the works of Dion Cassius and Herodian. This reinforces the point made in the last chapter that Greece and Greek meant much less to Nairn than Rome and Latin. Sheer numbers, as shown in the table above, reinforce the point.

It would seem from the table that Nairn owned far more works on France or Germany than he did on his native country, but two of the ^{volumes} ~~items~~ listed under Scotland, 1669 and 1670, contain seventy different items, mostly, but not totally, concerning Scottish political and ecclesiastical affairs of the later 1630s and 1640s. Items in these two volumes include

the declaration of Charles I annulling the contentious 1637 Scottish Service Book (1669/3), the 1643 Solemn League and Covenant in a 1648 reissue (1669/38), other political activities of the Scottish General Assembly of 1648 (for example 1669/36-37; 1670/3-5, /25-7, /30), and similar activities of assemblies of other years (for example 1669/33, /35, /41; 1670/8, /17, /22-23). The two untraced pamphlet volumes in Nairn's collection may have held similar material: certainly, one other of his pamphlet volumes (1668) contains seven items with strong Scottish political overtones, although the main emphasis in each case is ecclesiastical and for this reason the volume has already been mentioned in chapter four, and counted as theological. Legal works, to be discussed in the second section of this chapter, further augmented Nairn's holdings of material of direct relevance to the study of Scottish history.

These pamphlets are the nearest approach to contemporary newspapers bequeathed by Nairn to Edinburgh University Library. If he did buy the 'Mercuries', 'Courants', 'Gazettes' and the like which were undoubtedly imported into Scotland from the south or from abroad throughout the century, or purchase the examples which were produced fitfully in Edinburgh in this period, Nairn did not preserve them in his bequest.³ There was certainly a market for them in Scotland: the fanatical Covenanter Archibald Johnston noted guiltily in his diary in 1633 that 'I preferred Mercure francois to Leath comunion'; Andrew Hay of Craignethan was purchasing home produced newsletters in 1659; and from the late 1630s to the late 1650s the Revd Robert Baillie persistently demanded that his

cousin William Spang send him newspapers and news journals available to the latter in Holland.⁴

Nairn owned other items far removed in appearance (and cost) from badly produced ephemeral newspapers. Although it has been pointed out in previous chapters that in general illustrated material was not a particular strength of his library, and although he certainly did not go out of his way to collect examples of the superbly illustrated topographical books which were being produced at that time by continental presses, items which contemporary members of the Scottish aristocracy like Lords Lothian and Tweeddale and Lord George Douglas liked to collect, and had no atlases, there are several items with fine illustrations in Nairn's historical and geographical collections. These include De Laet's *Novus Orbis* (Leyden, 1633) (902), which is a fine Elzevir with maps and other illustrations, Nicolas de Nicolai's *Les Navigations ... faicts en la Turquie* (Antwerp, 1576) (1096), and Jan Nieuuhof's *Legatio Batavica ad Magnum Tartariae Chamum* (Amsterdam, 1668) (1106). One item, the *Bibliotheca Chalcographica* of Boissardus (Frankfurt, 1650-54) (218), consists solely of portrait engravings, some very fine, by Theodor de Bry.

It has already been pointed out that Dutch imprints were strong amongst Nairn's holdings of the works of ancient historians. Dutch representation is swollen further by Nairn's collection of titles in the Elzevir 'Little Republics' series, small format (12" or below) items succinctly describing the history of a country or region. Nairn owned thirteen titles in this series: items 440, 923, 1241, 1269-76, 1274A and 1278. Their success prompted Dutch rivals to repeat the formula

themselves, and Nairn also owned some of these (for example 444, 1277, 1279-80). The selling power of Dutch presses in this area, as in so many others, is clearly seen in a statistical examination of all the imprints of Nairn's history and geography books.

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Nairn's historical and geographical collections comprise 292 items, that is 15.14% of the maximum known titles (1929) in his library. This is the largest group of works on a subject outside of theology, although seventy-two items are pamphlets in volumes 1669 and 1670: omitting them would give the second place to philosophy, science and medicine. The two pamphlet volumes are omitted in the following tables as they would distort the figures, all ~~but one~~ items emanating from the British Isles. Subtracting the pamphlets, 220 items remain, of which two have untraceable countries of origin and thus cannot be incorporated. Ninety-one of the 220 items, or 41.36%, were printed after 1649. One of the ninety-one is of untraceable origin, and is therefore not included in the second table below.

All Imprints

United Provinces	59 (27.06%)
England	44 (20.18%)
Scotland	2 (0.91%)
Holy Roman Empire	46 (21.10%)
France	39 (17.89%)
Switzerland	16 (7.34%)
Spanish Netherlands	7 (3.21%)
Italy	2 (0.91%)
Spain	1 (0.45%)
Poland	1 (0.45%)
Sweden	1 (0.45%)

Post-1649 Imprints	
England	32 (35.56%)
Scotland	1 (1.11%)
United Provinces	31 (34.44%)
France	13 (14.44%)
Holy Roman Empire	10 (11.11%)
Switzerland	1 (1.11%)
Italy	1 (1.11%)
Sweden	1 (1.11%)

The vigour of the Dutch and English presses and the interest of these countries during the later seventeenth century in events beyond their own place and time is vividly demonstrated here, although it should be pointed out that eleven of the United Provinces thirty-one post-1649 items were editions of classical authors. The 'Little Republics' in the collection were all issued before 1650. Once more Scotland has a poor showing, although it contributed forty-eight out of the seventy-two items in the two omitted pamphlet volumes. The other twenty-four pamphlets were contributed by England (twenty-two) ^{three} and Ireland (one - Ireland's only contribution in this whole section), ~~and Switzerland (one)~~. All five of the post-1649 items in the two pamphlet volumes were Scottish imprints.

Linguistically, Latin has a poorer showing in this section than in any other subject grouping analysed statistically in this thesis except for post-1517 theology. Obviously, many of the history and geography/travel books were designed for a wide reading public happiest reading in the vernacular. Omitting the seventy-two pamphlets contained in items 1669 and 1670, all of which are in English, 151 of the 220 (68.64%) are in Latin, a figure which includes one item in Arabic and Latin, and two in Greek and Latin. Thirty-four are in English (15.45%), twenty-eight in French (12.73%), six in Italian (2.73%) and one without text. The post-

1649 figures are forty-nine (53.85% of ninety-one) in Latin, including the item in Arabic and Latin, twenty-six (28.57%) in English, thirteen (14.29%) in French, two (2.20%) in Italian and one (1.10%) without text.

* * * * *

Nairn was not building up his fine historical collection in a vacuum. Apart from laymen like Andrew Hay of Craginethan, Alexander Brodie of Brodie and John Lauder of Fountainhall who delighted in reading and collecting historical and geographical works,⁵ all of the other clerics whose libraries have been studied owned relevant material, and it would be true to say that after theology the historical collections of Leighton and Gray comprised their finest single subject coverage. Leighton probably owned upwards of one hundred and fifty relevant items, as wide ranging as Nairn's but with a particular emphasis on Greek and Byzantine historians absent from Nairn's collection. To go no further than ~~than~~ his folio holdings, and not to give an exhaustive listing, he owned histories by Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Nicephorus Gregoras, Procopius, John Cantacuzenus, Polybius, Josephus, Dionysius Halicarnassus, and Dion Cassius (owning in every case except for Cantacuzenus the Greek text), as well as Otto of Frisingen's *Chronicon*, Saxo Grammaticus on the Danes and Aventinus on the Bavarians, Matthew Paris, Davila on the civil wars in France, Mariana's history of Spain (in Spanish), Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia*, Richard Blome's *A Geographical Description ... of the World* (London, 1670), founded on the work of Sanson, with fine maps, Sir Thomas Herbert's account of his travels in Asia and Africa, Carlo Sigonio on the Western Empire and on Italy, Bacon's *History of the Reign of Henry VII*,

George Sandys's account of his travels to Turkey, Gilbert Burnet's memoirs of the first and second Dukes of Hamilton, and De Thou's *History*.⁶

Gray's historical and geographical collection was also extensive and wide-ranging: he probably owned over a hundred books on the subjects, to which must be added an extensive pamphlet collection of well over five hundred items mainly relating to British affairs from the 1630s to the early eighteenth century, and including some newspaper material. His pamphlet collection is far more extensive than that in any other library studied. ~~Returning to~~ ^{of} his more substantial historical and geographical holdings, a few examples from the 1929 printed catalogue are Thucydides in Latin, Blome's *Geographical Description*, Burnet on the Dukes of Hamilton, Bacon on Henry VII, Francois Bernier on the Mogul Empire, Camden's *Britannia*, sixth edition (London, 1607), and the same author on the reign of Elizabeth I, Dauncey on Portugal, Davila on France, Amelot de la Houssaye on Venice, Francis Rous's *Archaeologiae Atticae*, Rycaut on the Ottoman Empire, Josephus, Justinus, Plutarch, Grynæus's *Novus Orbis* and, what must have been an expensive purchase, Blaeu's atlas of England and Scotland.

The history collections of the Scougals were not so striking, but still contained a variety of material, for example, Camden's *Britannia* in Latin and in English, Bodin on historical method, Burnet on the Hamiltons, Guicciardini's *Historia Sui Temporis*, Mercator's *Atlas Minor* and Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. James Wemyss in his large library seems not to have been particularly interested in history, but Annand's smaller ^{a fine one} collection was ~~particularly fine~~, with works on, for example, China,

Portugal, Venice, Hungary, Japan, Denmark and the New World, as well as works on heraldry and 'a thin Book of Maps'. Naturally, different clerics had different collecting preferences.

The two smallest library catalogues studied, those of James Lundie and William Moore, also record historical works: Lundie owned Camden on the reign of Elizabeth I, Drummond's *History of Scotland*, Guicciardini, Heylyn's *Cosmographie*, Thomas Herbert on Persia, the *Novus Orbis* of either Grynæus or de Laet, Rycaut on the Ottoman Empire, Raleigh, Contarini on Venice, and Bishop John Leslie's polemic on the rights of Mary Queen of Scots to the throne of England (Rheims, 1580); Moore owned an incomplete copy of Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, *The Triumphs of Nassau* (London, 1613) by Jan Orler, William Spang's *Rerum Nuper in Scotia Gestarum Historia* ([Amsterdam] 1641), *The Present State of the United Provinces*, by William Aglionby (London, 1671), the universal history of Jean de Bussi res (Lyons, 1662), and editions of Suetonius, Tacitus and Sallust.

Other clerics, records of whose libraries have been lost, probably also owned historical works. Burnet said of Lawrence Charteris, Nairn's particular friend:

He had read all the Histories Ancient and Modern that came in his way, with all books of travells and the lives of great men; he said these books gave him an amusement without passion and a pleasant usefull entertainment.⁷

Nairn would no doubt have endorsed this fully, as would have the other Scottish Restoration clerics who in collecting historical and geographical works clearly showed their keen interest in the lives and activities of their fellow human beings from all societies and all ages.

B: Political Theory and Law

The seventeenth century was an age of intense political debate in western Europe. All kinds of political structures were postulated and discussed, from the divine right of kings to communism. Nor were views left to the realm of theoretical argument; in Great Britain, a civil war, lived through by Nairn, was conducted by men vehemently eager to impose their widely differing ideas of government on their fellow citizens.

Theories on the propriety and extent of ecclesiastical influence upon civil government, and the civil government's influence on ecclesiastical affairs were a major constituent of the more general debates, and in Scotland arguments about the church/state relationship were truly popular. Gilbert Burnet, when proselytising in the south-west of Scotland in 1670 for the established church, noticed this interest throughout society and recorded in his *History of My Own Time*:

We were indeed amazed to see a poor communalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and to the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion. Upon these topics they had texts of scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even among the meanest of them, their cottagers and servants.²

Nairn of course was one of Burnet's companions in this project; his status as a clergyman must have meant that of all questions of political theory the relationship between church and state would always have been uppermost in his mind. His library holdings on this subject, their viewpoints and background, will therefore be described in some detail.

Nairn's adolescence and early manhood took place at a time when Scottish clergymen were increasingly claiming the right to interfere in civil government, and these claims became more and more of a reality as the 1640s progressed. By the time Nairn took up his first charge in 1655, however, the reality of clerical influence on civil government had faded to a very considerable extent, but the theory, espoused vehemently by many of Nairn's colleagues, was certainly still there. As for state interference in clerical government in Scotland, the late 1630s and 1640s had seen that fade away almost completely. In the 1650s, however, it reappeared when the civil authority refused to allow the holding of General Assemblies from 1653 onwards, although otherwise the church's internal organisation and government carried on more or less independently. By the time Nairn entered his last parish at Wemyss in 1665 the church/state relationship had changed once again: he was now a minister in an episcopal church with the king who had imposed it at its head. The bishops and archbishops, chosen of course by the king and his political advisers, had a place in parliament, although they were as a body influential in civil affairs far more in theory than in practice. General Assemblies were still not allowed, but on the other hand the king did not attempt the changes in divine service which had proved so disastrous to his father.

Nairn's actions in the post-1660 period have been recorded in chapter two and show, first, his great interest in the church/state relationship, second, his periodic unease at the way that relationship was heading, but also, third, his fundamental acceptance of the Restoration settlement in church and state. He conformed to episcopacy in 1662, but left Edinburgh

for a country parish, and is recorded as having expressed a wish not to have to reside too near his bishop; he declared in synod in 1664 that he accepted the deposition of a parish minister by a bishop if that bishop was acting 'as the King's delegate or commissioner' but attacked the Assertory Act of 1669 for making the king too powerful in ecclesiastical matters; he declined a bishopric in 1672 but accepted a royal chaplaincy in 1675. As the text at the head of the paraphrase of the sermon probably delivered by Nairn and preserved in the Bodleian Library (MS 14260, fols 99-104) puts it, his basic attitude after 1660 was 'Fear God. Honour the King'.

Nairn's acquiescence in, and fundamental support of, the Restoration church/state relationship is clearly demonstrated in the tenor of most of the items on the subject present in his library: all but one of those titles devoted to church/state relations which were written by clergymen clearly favoured the authority of the civil power at the expense of the ecclesiastical. They will be surveyed briefly below, but it must also be pointed out that many of the items in three pamphlet volumes in the collection (1668-1670), specifically concerned with Scottish and English political and ecclesiastical events between the late 1630s and early 1650s, put forward very different views for Nairn to ponder; and other widely differing opinions on the subject would also have been embedded in a galaxy of theological and historical works in Nairn's collection, from the time of the church fathers onwards. There is also pertinent material in legal works in the library, to be discussed later in this section.

Four items, all from the pens of clerics (two Anglican and two Roman Catholic), and all with London imprints, were concerned with upholding the rights of secular princes against the claims of the papacy to political rights within England. The earliest was by the Anglican Thomas Bilson, printed in 1586 (192). Two more, one by a Benedictine (1626) and one by an Anglican bishop (299) date from the years 1610 to 1613, and were concerned with arguments over political rights between James VI and the Pope. The fourth item is by the Irish Franciscan Peter Walsh, issued in the 1670s (926). There is nothing particularly surprising about the presence of these works in Nairn's library, and the same is true of the presence of a work by the French canonist Pierre de Marca (984) upholding Gallicanism at the expense of papal power in the French church: it was first issued in 1641; Nairn's edition was issued in 1669. Nairn's small collection of works by and about Paolo Sarpi, mentioned in chapter four above (773, 777, 1197, 1348-52), should be noted again here as a further example of Nairn's interest in the conflict between the papacy and local churches and lay authority. Texts of various concordats between French kings and the papacy (8, 402, 1239) have also been mentioned.

Other works by clerics of a variety of Protestant affiliations were concerned with broader church/state issues. One, printed in Franeker in 1646, is by a moderate Dutch Calvinist Pierre Lansbergen (699); another, printed in London in 1656, is by an English independent (1043): both uphold the rights of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs. Two more are works by Anglicans, dating from the post-1660 period (478, 1340), and the title of the latter work, by Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln,

Episcopacy ... not Prejudicial to Regal Power (London, 1673) shows the author to have been more concerned about promoting the power of the king than that of the church. Only one theoretical work on the subject reflects the views of strict presbyterians: the Dutchman Triglandius's *Dissertatio Theologica de Civili & Ecclesiastica Potestate* (Amsterdam, 1642) (1529). The date of this may suggest early acquisition by Nairn, but there is no way of telling one way or another.

Apart from James VI's highly partisan exposition of his own views on civil authority (831), directly related to the attacks on his kingly prerogative by the Pope already mentioned, the few works by laymen on the state-church relationship in Nairn's library are impartial, with a stress on the legal aspects rather than the political. One is by the Swiss scholar Melchior Goldast (Hanau, Frankfurt, 1612-14) (690), and discusses the jurisdiction of lay authorities, including the Holy Roman Emperor, and the papacy. This work also includes William of Ockham's views on the subject. Other relevant works are by Paulus Voet (Amsterdam, 1662) (1575) and Sir Thomas Ridley (Oxford, 1634) (1289).

Where lay authority in civil affairs ultimately rested, and the most just structure of government, were questions bitterly disputed in Scotland and England during Nairn's youth and early adult life. Born when Charles I was embarking upon an eleven year rule without parliament, Nairn saw parliaments in England and Scotland become more powerful after 1639. The king was executed in 1649, without any legality as far as Scotland at least was concerned, and no parliaments met in Scotland between 1651 and 1661, during which time the country was in effect ruled by a English

military dictatorship. In England too in the 1650s parliamentary authority withered away. After 1660 Scotland was a kingdom again, with a very powerful monarch, ruling through appointed officers. Parliaments did meet, but were often little more than ciphers for the king's will.

We have Burnet's word that profound political questions occupied Nairn's mind: he mentions that he studied the question of whether a king could be legally deposed 'much' with Nairn in the early 1660s.⁹ Nairn's library reflects the interest spoken of by Burnet, incorporating as it does a fine range of highly important works putting forward views of the utmost diversity on civil government, from Plato's *Republic* to Macchiavelli's *Discorsi* (998 - in a French translation), Bodin's *De Republica* ([Paris] 1591) (212), and Hobbes's *Leviathan* and *De Cive*. The Hobbes and Plato are included in their collected works (787, 1213). As mentioned above in chapter five, Nairn owned several works attacking Hobbes's ideas, including Clarendon's attack on *Leviathan* (766) and Gisbert Cock's attack on the *De Cive* (387); he also owned an attack on Macchiavelli by Gentilletus (394). Far from the views of Hobbes and Macchiavelli were the writings of the Dutch lawyer Althusius and the Spaniard Juan de Mariana (33 and 988): both postulated the legality of the deposition of kings and the ultimate sovereignty of the people.

One of the most controversial works written in Britain on the subject of kingship in the century between 1550 and 1650 was perhaps George Buchanan's *De Jure Regno Apud Scotos*, a work which, despite its age, was condemned for its democratic views by the English Parliament in 1664. A copy was publicly burnt by the University of Oxford in 1683. This work

was in Nairn's library, included in an edition of Buchanan's *History of Scotland* (254). Here is another example of Nairn, King's Chaplain though he was, owning material condemned as seditious and passing it on to Edinburgh University Library. I have not noticed the Buchanan in any of the libraries formed by his clerical contemporaries, but Saltoun Parish Library owned a copy by 1666, included, like Nairn's, in an edition of Buchanan's *History*.

Once again, however, Nairn balanced a revolutionary with a reactionary, owning a pamphlet by Sir Robert Filmer (London, 1652) (1673/5), bound up, amongst other items, with two other English imprints of 1644 and 1652 stressing the power of the civil magistracy and condemning rebellion (1673/1-2). A few other works from English presses and issued after 1650 stressed the authority of the exiled Charles Stuart or, after 1660, praised the Restoration settlement (514, 646, 576, 1077, 1540).

A survey of works on political theory and good government could continue for some time further: commentaries on Aristotle and on Plato (82-83 - two copies of the same work - 336, 589) for example; or four utopias (286, 406, 584, 1062), including Campanella's *Civitas Solis* (included in 286) and the eponymous one by More (1062), a work which, incidentally, Gilbert Burnet was to translate into English and issue in 1684. Nairn also owned an outline by Michael Maier of that elusive secret society of alchemists and world reformers the Rosicrucians (1004), whom Burnet encountered on his continental travels in 1664. John Cockburn records that Burnet, very shortly after his return, told Nairn and other friends 'several things that looked like old women's tales, as of a strange

sort of people, whom he called, the Rosycrucians, whom I never heard of before'.¹⁰ More practical items in the library were the thoughts of the French statesman the Duc de Rohan, reflecting his own practical experience, a work owned by Nairn in no less than three copies, in Latin (81), French (846) and English (1299), a record for a text in the collection apart from the Bible.¹¹

The importance of all these works, as with so many other sections in Nairn's library, is not so much to show Nairn's own views but to demonstrate the very extensive range of opinions that he and subsequent readers in Edinburgh University Library could find in the collection. The relevant items in the other clerical libraries studied are not as numerous as those in Nairn's collection, but within their limits show an equally eclectic interest. As mentioned in chapter five, James Lundie and William Annand owned Clarendon against Hobbes, the Scougals owned Tenison and Lucy against Hobbes, while Moore owned the *De Cive*. This last was also owned by Leighton, who also owned the *De Corpore Politico*, as well as critiques of Hobbes by Tenison and Ward. Lundie also mustered Gentilletus against Macchiavelli and Guevara's *Dial of Princes*; Moore owned Gilbert Burnet's *A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1673), the *Exercitation Concerning Usurped Powers*, and Salmasius's *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I ad ... Carolum II* ([Leyden] 1649), as well as an English edition of the Gentilletus (London, 1602).

The Scougals owned such works as Arnisaeus's *De Republica*, Guevara's *Dial of Princes*, the works of James VI, Osorius's *De Regis Institutione*,

More's *Utopia*, Castiglione's *The Courtier* in Italian, and Maier's *Themis Aurea: the Laws of the Fraternity of the Holy Crosse* (London, 1656), an English translation of the item already mentioned as being in Wairn's collection. Patrick Scougal was one of those told about Burnet's Rosicrucian encounters abroad in 1664, recorded by his nephew John Cockburn, already referred to above.

William Annand had a particular interest in Macchiavelli: the *Prince* in English (London, 1640) and in Latin (Lyons, 1648); and the *Discourses* in English (London, 1674) and in Latin (1620). He also owned More's *Utopia* (London, 1639) in English as well as Gee on the civil magistrate and James VI's works. James Wemyss also owned titles on political theory and practice already noted as being in Wairn's library: for example, Bodin, James VI, Althusius (two editions), Arnisaeus, Triglandius and Macchiavelli (a Latin edition of the *Discourses*). He also owned Aristotle's *Politica*, and Neuhusius on the Rosicrucians.

Gray's library and that of Leighton are even more rewarding in terms of numbers. The former owned several important works on familiar topics, mostly by authors already encountered: Sir George Mackenzie's *Jus Regium* (Edinburgh, 1684), which of course appeared too late to have been owned by Wairn; Gee on civil magistracy; James VI's *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* (London, 1660); Grotius's *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum Circa Sacra* (Paris, 1648); Lipsius's *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex* (Paris, 1605); the *De Regno et Regis Institutione* (Strassburg, 1608) of Franciscus Patricius; More's *Utopia* (Frankfurt, 1601); the *De Regis Institutione et Disciplina* of Osorius; Apollonius's *Jus Majestatis Circa*

Sacra; and Macchiavelli's works in English (London, 1675); as well as other copies of the *Discorsi* and *Il Principe* in Italian, the only items in that language in his library. His extensive pamphlet collection also contained a wealth of material relevant to the intense political and politico-ecclesiastical theorising in Great Britain in the later seventeenth century.

Leighton's unbound collection of pamphlets may also have contained material similar to those in Gray's collection, but titles have not been recorded. However, the more substantial items in Leighton's library which are listed in his holograph catalogue continue with the themes which were most of interest to Nairn and the other clerical collectors, with, for example, editions of the works by Bodin (in French), Grotius, Scudéry, Lipsius, Rohan and More already mentioned in this section, the works of Macchiavelli in Italian, two copies, one incomplete, of Silhon's *Le Ministre d'estat*, Marsilio of Padua's *Defensor Pacis*, and Rohan's *Discours politiques*.

Nairn would have touched upon political theory briefly during his time at Edinburgh University, while studying ethics in his third year. Christine Shepherd has said of the ethics course at Scottish universities in the seventeenth century that 'up to the 1660s and 1670s, the lectures were mainly commentaries on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*' and that at Edinburgh the earliest dictates, up to the 1660s, were commentaries on that work.¹² After 1660, Dr Shepherd has demonstrated, views of seventeenth-century writers, for example Hobbes and Grotius, on natural law, began to be elucidated, condemned, praised and generally discussed by

regents at Edinburgh.¹³ This of course was far too late for Nairn to benefit, but in his library he shows here, as he does in other fields, an ability and desire to keep up with academic trends. Not only did he have an Amsterdam, 1667, edition of Hugo Grotius's classic *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (717), first issued in 1625, and Felden's critical survey of it (Amsterdam, 1653) (590), he had first editions of highly important later works, namely Richard Cumberland's *De Legibus Naturae* (London, 1672) (438), which attacked Hobbes's ideas, Willem Grotius's *De Principiis Juris Naturalis Enchiridion* (The Hague, 1667) (714), and two titles by the German jurist Samuel Pufendorf, his *De Jure Naturae et Gentium* (Lund, 1672) and the *De Officio Hominis et Civis Juxta Legem Naturalem* (Lund, 1673) (1246-47). Dr Shepherd has pointed out that Edinburgh University Library was acquiring copies of the titles by the brothers Grotius in the 1660s and purchased a copy of the Cumberland in 1673, but through not examining the catalogue of Nairn's bequest to Edinburgh University Library, she has erroneously stated that none of the university libraries 'seem to have acquired any of Puffendorf's [sic] works particularly quickly', in Edinburgh University's case not until 1698.¹⁴ It is therefore particularly noteworthy that a parish minister who died in 1678 should have been acquiring these works before any of the universities.

Not only did Nairn own other general works on jurisprudence (436, 1006, 1500-01, 1565), he also owned a considerable number of works dealing with a wide range of legal subjects. On Scots law he owned the very important compilations by Sir John Skene (1543?-1617): his compilation of Scottish statutes issued between 1424 and 1597, with his legal glossary

(10), and his collection of ancient laws of Scotland and two treatises on legal procedure (1264, the Latin edition, and 1404, a fragment from the English language edition of 1264 containing the two treatises only). Nairn also owned Sir Thomas Craig's *Jus Feudale* (Edinburgh, 1655) (426), with its introduction by Robert Burnet, the husband of the author's granddaughter and father of Gilbert Burnet, and, an even more recent imprint, a collection of Sir George Mackenzie's court pleadings (Edinburgh, 1673) (977).

Scots law is greatly influenced by Roman law, and Nairn's library contained eleven interpretative works on various aspects of Roman law, ranging in imprint date from 1537 to 1661 and including commentaries on sections of Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis*, which Nairn owned in an edition issued in Amsterdam in 1663-64 (410).¹⁵ A twelfth work discusses Byzantine law 'tam canonici quam civilis' (Frankfurt, 1596) (926).

What was Nairn's main purpose in collecting these works, some highly specialised, on Scots and Roman law? It is possible that he was called upon ~~upon~~ by his parishioners to advise on legal matters in the same way that he possibly had to dispense medical knowledge. George Herbert in his *Priest to the Temple* declared that

the Countrey Parson desires to be all to his Parish, and not onely a Pastour, but a Lawyer also, and a Phisician. Therefore hee endures not that any of his Flock should go to Law, but in any Controversie, that they should resort to him as their Judge.¹⁶

He elaborated further in subsequent sentences on what a parson should know about the law, how he should act in legal disputes, and how he should approach cases beyond his capabilities. As a minister of the Scottish

church Nairn had considerable power over the lives of his fellow citizens, and his legal collections would help him in his decisions at kirk session, presbytery and synod meetings. For example, Mackenzie's *Pleadings* (977) contain (pp. 185-197) material highly important to the conduct of witchcraft trials, a matter in which, as has been seen, Nairn had to take a professional interest. His works on the state/church relationship could also have helped him form an opinion in important decisions at the various levels of church government in which he was *ex officio* involved.

More generally, works on Scottish law would have extended his collection of items pertinent to the history and current state of his country, as well as giving him material germane to the abstract study of political theory. Some at least of his collection on Roman law would also have given him material for thought on political matters, and would have further expanded his holdings on the civilisation of Ancient Rome, which has been shown to have been of the greatest scholarly interest to him.

Items in the library on canon law would also have been of direct relevance to Nairn's professional work as well as providing further material for academic study. These comprise: the Catholic *Corpus Juris Canonici* in an edition printed in Lyons in 1661 (409); a sympathetic study of the *Corpus* by a Dutch Catholic convert, A. Corvinus (Amsterdam, 1651) (413); the mammoth commentary on the *Decretals* of Gregory IX and on other points of canon law by Cardinal de' Tudeschi (1386-1445) (Lyons, 1516-17) (1147); three very different views on Catholic canon law propounded by Protestants, Charles du Moulin (1603) (1041), Oosterga (Utrecht, 1669) (1266), and Caspar Ziegler (Wittenberg, 1669) (1656); and

a collection of Anglican church statutes and regulations (London, 1640) (1261). These items show succinctly Nairn's interest in Catholic material, but also a natural emphasis towards modern Protestant interpretation of it. The last item shows his particular interest in the Church of England.

Three other works in the collection are related to the above material, being concerned with Christian marriage law: polygamy (516), divorce (1641) and consanguinity (518). Another, by Robert Sharrock, deals with the law on various sexual offences (Oxford, 1663) (1403). These items, whose imprint dates are all post-1660, may have been of practical use in his parish work, although there was surely little practical need for a work on polygamy. Nairn also owned one work specifically on Jewish marriage law (1390), and four more on other facets of Jewish law (547, 1389, 1613, 1658), all of which would have relevance in his biblical studies, as well as illuminating certain facets of Christian law.

The other legal works in Nairn's library are miscellaneous, but include two legal dictionaries, one printed in 1545 (202A), the other in 1664 (277).¹⁷ All in all, the collection is a creditable one for a non-professional, although it would not have compared with the legal collection needed by any distinguished Scottish lawyer of the day. Nairn's legal library was certainly far more extensive than that of any other of his clerical colleagues, although the libraries of Lundie, Gray, Leighton and Vemyss, within their limitations of size, demonstrate an affinity with Nairn's much larger collection.

Moore merely owned an edition of Cicero's *De Legibus* (Basle, 1580), owned by Nairn in Cicero's complete works, and Christoph Sturtz's *Methodus*

Logica Universi Juris Civilis (Frankfurt, 1589), but Lundie's partial catalogue of 1672 records several legal works, including Skene's *Regiam Majestatem*, Willem Grotius's *De Principiis Juris Naturalis Enchiridion*, Cumberland's *De Legibus Naturae*, which must have have been bought very soon after publication, Gratian's *Decretals*, Justinian's *Pandectae*, and 'Staires practicks - a manuscript'.

The Scougals owned the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* of Grotius, Justinian's *Codex*, Corvinus on canon law and little else, but Gray's library contained the acts of the first parliament of Charles II, which authorised such fundamental changes in Scottish ecclesiastical government, as well as a few other individual acts of Charles II, Oldendorpius on legal procedures in Roman law (Cologne, 1540), the same edition of Hugo Grotius's *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* as owned by Nairn, as well as Felden's strictures on it, and an edition of the *Institutes*. He also owned 'The Abridgment of the Acts of Parliament both Criminall and Civill, selected according to the order of the Alphabet, by Mr Andrew Gilmor, advocate, (MS.)'.¹⁸

Leighton was another who owned Grotius's *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (Amsterdam, 1650), as well as Felden's criticism of it. Grotius's *De Mari Libero* (Amsterdam, 1633) is also in his library, as well as Selden's rebuttal, the *Mare Clausum* (Leyden, 1636). Selden is also represented by his *De Jure Naturali ... Juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum* (London, 1640). Finally, Leighton owned an Antwerp, 1567, edition of the *Institutes* and Pierre Gregoire's *Syntagma Juris Universi* (Orleans, 1611).

New works on natural law and jurisprudence passed James Wemyss by, apart from Selden's *De Jure Naturali ... Juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum*.

However, of all the libraries of Nairn's clerical contemporaries it was nearest to it in its collection of material relating to Scots law (Skene's collection of statutes and *Regiam Majestatem*, Craig's *Jus Feudale*, the Acts of the second parliament of Charles II), canon law (Gratian's *Decretals*, Gregoire on canon law, and Tudeschi on the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, as well as the whole *Corpus Juris Canonici*) and Roman law (for example, Justinian's *Codex* and *Institutes*, Azo on the *Codex* and Wesenbecius on the *Pandectae*, and Gregoire's *Syntagma*). He also owned an early seventeenth-century edition of William Rastell's collection of English statutes, and another of statutes passed in the Commonwealth. William Annand's legal collection was very modest, although he owned an edition of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, collections of Scottish and English Acts and Charles Molloy's *De Jure Maritimo et Navale* (London, 1677), an area of law not entered into by the libraries of any of his fellow clerics.

* * * * *

An imprint and language analysis of Nairn's holdings in law and in political theory is rather unsatisfactory because many of the greatest works on political thought - by Plato, Hobbes, Buchanan, Lipsius or Campanella, for instance - are bibliographically part of items which have had to be counted in other subject areas, notably philosophy. Material germane to political theory would also be found embedded in a great number of theological, philosophical, historical, legal, and even literary works. However, trends which have been discernible in other sections are also noticeable in the 123 items which have been the basis of this section, namely a rise in English and Dutch imprints at the expense of those of

other countries, and a decline in the use of Latin. Two of the 123 items have no identifiable place of origin, and therefore cannot be incorporated into the following table. One of these has no date: I have assumed it to be pre-1650. Fifty-seven items (46.34%) date from after 1649, all with known imprints.

All Imprints

England	34 (28.10%)
Scotland	5 (4.13%)
Holy Roman Empire	31 (25.62%)
United Provinces	26 (21.49%)
France	15 (12.40%)
Switzerland	8 (6.61%)
Sweden	2 (1.65%)

Post-1649 Imprints

England	20 (35.09%)
Scotland	1 (1.75%)
Holy Roman Empire	12 (21.05%)
United Provinces	15 (26.32%)
France	4 (7.02%)
Switzerland	3 (5.26%)
Sweden	2 (3.51%)

The majority of the English items were concerned with political discussion and the church/state question: this is especially true of the post-1649 section. The United Provinces, on the other hand, provided important works on general jurisprudence and legal details, reflecting the much stronger influence there of Roman law, highly pertinent to Scotsmen, than in England. The good showing of the Holy Roman Empire also reflects the importance there of Roman law, but there are also important German imprints on political theory. The effects of the Thirty Years War seem not to have been so dramatic in legal and political learning as on other

areas of learning. The Scottish items are all collections of statutes or works on Scots law. The Swedish items were the Pufendorf works.

Analysing by language, Latin was used in ninety-one of the 123 (73.98%), three items being in Latin and Greek and one in Hebrew and Latin. English was used in twenty-seven (21.95%), and French in five (4.07%), all in items concerned with political theory. Latin declined to 68.42% in the post-1649 sample, with thirty-nine items; English was used in sixteen (28.07%); and French in two (3.51%). Latin, therefore, was still very strong, and in the strictly legal area there was no decline at all, reflecting the international nature of law and the Roman origins of a highly important segment of it.

C: *Miscellaneous Subjects*

This final section is a very short one. That it can be so is a testimony to the great structural coherence of Nairn's library. Taking away the four general bibliographies, the three book catalogues and the one volume of reviews discussed in chapter three, and the seven encyclopaedias or compendia of miscellaneous information, including an 'editio novissima' of Charles Estienne's *Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum* printed in Oxford in 1671 (1445),¹⁹ only seven items remain which cannot be classified happily in any of the preceding subject chapters. Of these, five are concerned with education and study: two of these, by Varet (544) and Fortin de la Hoguette (611), both in French and in editions dating

from 1669 and 1659 respectively, proffer advice on the Christian upbringing of children, which Nairn may have found useful in his parochial duties; one (Amsterdam, 1652) is on Jewish education and would have had biblical relevance (35); and the other two may have been found useful in his own life of study, the *De Disciplinis* (Leyden, 1636) (1570) of the Spanish humanist Juan Vives, and the *Dissertationes de Studiis Bene Instituendis* (Utrecht, 1658) (1596) by Gerardus Vossius and others. The sixth item is a collection of miscellaneous essays by Pierre Nicole (Paris, 1671) (566A). The first essay in the volume, mentioned in the title, is also on education: *Traite de l'éducation d'un prince*.

This leaves only one item to be noted, the *Musicae Compendium* (Amsterdam, 1656) of René Descartes (301A), a thirty-four page pamphlet bound in with the author's *Opera Philosophica*. Was it acquired for its own sake, or was it merely a bonus already bound up with the much larger item? It is not possible to give an answer, but it is certainly the only representative of a bibliographically separate work on music in Nairn's library, although it is on its mathematical basis rather than on its aesthetic qualities. Moreover, there are no works of music in Nairn's collection, apart from some examples in Catholic liturgical works and settings of the Psalms (395). The same is true of all the other clerical collections studied, with a single exception in a single library, that of James Wemyss, who owned Christopher Simpson's *A Compendium of Practical Musick*, third edition (London, 1678).

Other clerical libraries shared Nairn's modest interest in education. Gray had an English translation, *The Christian Education of Children*

(Paris [London?] 1678), of the Varet item owned by Nairn, as well as an edition of the Fortin de la Hoguette also mentioned above. Leighton owned John Webster's *Academiarum Examen, or, the Examination of Academies* (London, 1654) as well as Seth Ward's attack on this, the *Vindiciae Academiarum* (Oxford, 1654). He also owned the *Praecepta Educationis Regiae* of Manuel Palaeologus (Basle, 1578). Moore owned two items by Comenius: his *Eruditionis Scholasticae Atrium* (Nuremberg, 1659) and *Pansophiae Prodrum* (Leyden, 1644). Wemyss owned Brathwait's *The English Gentleman; and ... Gentlewoman*, third edition (London, 1641); the Scougals owned Middendorpius's *Academiarum Celebrium ... Libri Tres* (Cologne, 1602).

Apart from a hint of an interest in navigation in Annand's library (an edition of W. J. Blaeu's *The Sea-Mirroure, Containing a Briefe Instruction in the Art of Navigation*), one work on surveying in Wemyss's library (Aaron Rathborne's *The Surveyor* (London, 1616)), and three pamphlets on trade owned by the Scougals dating from the early years of the seventeenth century (Tobias Gentleman's *Englands Way to Win Trade* (London, 1614), Robert Kayll's *The Trade's Increase* (London, 1615), and Sir Dudley Digges's *The Defence of Trade* (London, 1615)), only one major subject, architecture, completely lacking in Nairn's collection is represented in several of the libraries of his fellow clerics. Even here, representation was modest. For example, Leighton owned a volume entitled 'fortifications francoises', possibly an edition of Blaise de Pagan's *Les Fortifications*, or an edition in French of Aurelio di Pasino's *Discours sur plusieurs poincts de l'architecture de guerre, concernant les fortifications*, or of Antoine de Ville's *Les Fortifications*. The Pasino was owned by Wemyss and the de

Ville by the Scougals. The Scougals also possessed a Strassburg, 1550, edition of the *De Architectura* of Vitruvius. Wemyss owned a French edition of the Vitruvius, as well as Sir Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* (London, 1624) and Baldi's *De Verborum Vitruvianorum Significatione* (Augsburg, 1612).

It may well be felt that in this strictly limited interest in the visual and musical arts Nairn and his clerical contemporaries were ignoring some of the greatest pleasures of life. The extensive alterations to Holyrood Palace and the embellishments to Wemyss Castle, which Nairn must have witnessed, and the connoisseurship of such nobles as Lord and Lady Wemyss and Lord Tweeddale which Nairn definitely would have encountered, and any similar experiences of the other clerics with their own local magnates, seem to have meant little to them. Nevertheless, it is a further demonstration of how the libraries of these clerics, with Nairn's as its most extensive exemplar, can be examined validly together as a group.

Conclusion

The last four chapters have presented an exhaustive study of the contents of the library of James Nairn, along with detailed surveys of several other clerical libraries formed mainly in the Restoration period in Scotland. In 1967 Hugh Trevor-Roper wrote of the much later, post-1715, library formed by the brother of Lord Panmure:

There we find, among the religious books, along with the fathers and the reformers, the works of the great arminians, Hooker, Grotius, Limborch; of the socinians and latitudinarians, even of the deists; among the secular books, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Montaigne, Comenius, Hobbes and the dictionary of Pierre Bayle. It is the library, already, of a gentleman of the Enlightenment.¹

This follows a speculative contrasting section on Scottish libraries around 1700 (I have added italics to certain words):

In the manse of the minister there might be only orthodox works of theology. ... A few Edinburgh lawyers *perhaps* remembered their days in Leiden or Groningen or Utrecht and bought *some* of the books *occasionally* imported by sea from London or Amsterdam. But all these were deeply conservative classes, fundamentally opposed to novelty. The great men, who had been courtiers in London and built up splendid cosmopolitan libraries, were exotic exceptions. But here and there, and perhaps more often than we suspect, in *grim* rural castles and peel-towers and *obscure* town houses, *eccentric* lairds and merchants trading by sea kept in touch, through the heretical Calvinist or the Jacobite freemasonry, with foreign ideas.²

The whole argument of this thesis has been to demonstrate how wrong Trevor-Roper was in the general tenor of the above surmise when applied to the period between 1660 and 1688, and that libraries near in spirit, and also in detail, to the post-1715 one extolled in the first passage quoted above existed in the Restoration period, that is a whole generation or more before.

There was considerable demand by a number of educated Scots in the Restoration period for books on a very wide range of subjects and a desire to obtain the most recent thinking available. Nairn was not an aristocrat: he was an 'ordinary' parish minister. His library, although exceptionally large, was hardly an *exotic* exception, being but one of a number of clerical libraries formed by men who, although prosperous, were not exceptionally wealthy in terms of other professions like lawyers or merchants or doctors. In some subject areas his holdings were surpassed by the collections of his fellows. None of these clerics was particularly eccentric, and neither were the members of the other professions whose book collecting activities have been mentioned in this study. It has been demonstrated in chapter three that books were imported in the Restoration period far more frequently than 'occasionally' from London or Amsterdam, and that these also came from other places to satisfy a lively and vigorous market for books both new and second hand. There was in addition recirculation of books within Scotland itself.

James Nairn died in 1678, a few years before intellectual activity in seventeenth-century Scotland reached its greatest flowering. The magisterial *Institutes of the Law of Scotland* of James Dalrymple (later Viscount Stair) was published in 1682; the Royal College of Physicians with its supporting library was founded in 1681; the library of the Faculty of Advocates was instituted in 1682; Sir Robert Sibbald issued the first natural history of Scotland, the *Scotia Illustrata* in 1684. 1684 was also the year of the founding of the Leighton Library at Dunblane, and further north other institutional libraries were founded in the 1680s at

Innerpeffray in Perthshire 'for the benefit and encouragement of young students',³ and at Kirkwall in Orkney. This last was called a 'Publicke Librarie' from the start.⁴ The Innerpeffray Library was founded by an aristocrat, Lord Madertie; the Kirkwall Library by a minor landowner, William Baikie, and the parish minister, James Wallace.

The vital educational role of libraries was clearly widely appreciated in the 1680s in Scotland. As mentioned above in chapter three, one clergyman, John Cockburn, Minister of Ormiston in East Lothian and nephew of Bishop Patrick Scougal of Aberdeen, took it upon himself in 1688 to initiate the monthly periodical, the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, in order to give advice to his fellow countrymen on what was the best in contemporary European writing. However, this efflorescence of activity took place against an increasingly unstable and violent political and religious background, and this has always overshadowed the intellectual advances of the period. Archbishop Sharp was murdered in 1679, and the extreme Covenanters of the South-West gathered an army which defeated government troops the same year at Drumclog in Ayrshire, only to be defeated ~~themselves~~ the next year at Bothwell Brig. Many clergymen objected strongly to the provisions of the Test Act of 1681, and indeed the Test led to two resignations amongst clerics prominent in this thesis: Lawrence Charteris resigned from the Chair of Divinity at Edinburgh which he had held since 1675; and James Lundie left his charge at Dalkeith. After a change in royal policy in 1687, however, they both resumed duties: Charteris as minister at Dirleton, Lundie at North Leith.

Another threat to the intellectual freedom of the episcopalian clergy manifested itself early in 1688 in the suppression after one issue of Cockburn's *Bibliotheca Universalis*, although this was as nothing to the consequences of the flight of James II in November 1688. The Glorious Revolution not only led to the abolition of episcopacy as the official form of church government in Scotland but also to a wholesale change in the personnel of the Scottish church. In 1688 there were 926 parishes in Scotland; between then and 1716 no less than 664 ministers were deprived either through refusing to swear loyalty to William and Mary or to their successor Anne, or for refusing to accept presbyterianism.⁵ One of those ejected in the first wave of dismissals was John Gray of Aberlady; another was James Wemyss. William Annand only escaped through death. James Fall was forced to demit office as Principal of Glasgow University, eventually becoming a ^{prebendary} ~~prebend~~ at York, as well as the first editor of Robert Leighton's works; his counterpart at Edinburgh, Alexander Munro, who had been Nairn's successor at Wemyss, and who was in addition a minister at St Giles's, also resigned,⁶ as did several other Scottish professors of divinity. Lawrence Charteris carried on in office, but continued as an episcopal apologist.⁷ Lundie also carried on his ministry. Would Nairn have done likewise if still alive? Given his lack of commitment to a particular form of church government as evinced in his early career he may have done so, but on the other hand his oath of loyalty to the king may have been too much to overcome.

The level of disruption amongst evicted clerics varied from cleric to cleric. John Cockburn was even more unlucky under William III than he had

been under James II, being imprisoned for six months in 1689 and 1690 for continued loyalty to the exiled king. After his release he left Scotland for good, settling first in Holland until 1709, when he moved to London, eventually becoming a Church of England clergyman in Middlesex. Others stayed in Scotland, but their power and corporate influence had obviously vanished, and their personal prosperity depended on their success at finding or keeping alternative sources of income: John Gray for one appears to have been able to continue a relatively prosperous lifestyle. Others were not so lucky, and their lives after 1689 should be seen against a background of increasing political instability, culminating in the Act of Union of 1707, war with France until 1697 and between 1702 and 1713, and a succession of disastrous harvests between 1695 and 1699, leading to extensive famine. The failure of the Darien Scheme in the years immediately following these agricultural failures added to the economic depression.

The Church of Scotland suffered greatly from the wholesale eviction of personnel. Many of those who left were the most intellectually inquisitive. A modern historian, William Ferguson, has stated that 'it took the Church of Scotland well nigh thirty years to recover from these self-inflicted wounds'.⁸ John Cockburn, although hardly an impartial observer, wrote in 1690:

Brewers and illiterate Tradesmen are setting up to be Ministers. ... they [the Presbyterians] have laid our Colleges wast, driven away our learned men. ... The Narrowness of the Presbyterian Spirit is an Enemy to Knowledg. ... The trade of books is fallen so low since the Presbyterian reign was set up, that our Stationers are thinking either to quit their employments, or to go and live elsewhere, for they have not made the rent of their shops these two years. The Episcopall are not in circumstances for buying and the other crave no other books

than Durham on the Canticles and Revelation, Dickson and Hutcheson ...
These are their Classicall Authors and the standard of their learning.²⁹

Even allowing for much exaggeration, there seems undoubtedly to be truth in what Cockburn said of the relationship between book purchasing and episcopalianism. It is significant that after 1689 the most enterprising printers and booksellers in Edinburgh were episcopalian: the two greatest figures in Scottish printing in the first decades of the eighteenth century, James Watson and Thomas Ruddiman, were both episcopalians, with, in addition, strong Stuart sympathies. Andrew Symson, printer 1696 to c.1712, was the ejected minister of Douglas in Lanarkshire; David Freebairn, bookseller in Edinburgh in the 1690s, was the ejected minister of Dunning in Perthshire and became titular Bishop of Edinburgh in 1722.

The link between episcopalianism and the promotion of books and libraries as resources for educational advance is seen in the work of James Kirkwood at the very end of the seventeenth century. Kirkwood was a minister who left Scotland after the Test Act of 1681; after 1685, he became rector of Astwick in Bedfordshire. In 1699, he issued, anonymously, a pamphlet proposing libraries in every parish in Scotland, remarkable in British library history for its early advocacy of such ideas as union catalogues and a unified classification scheme.³⁰ The scheme never materialised, but in 1702, the year he was ejected from his living for not swearing an oath of allegiance to William III, Kirkwood tried again, with a more modest scheme to provide libraries, as the title of his promotional pamphlet put it, 'in every presbytry [sic], or at least county, in the Highlands'.³¹ This time, several libraries were begun, with the approval

and support of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, an indication of a change of attitude by that body to learning gained directly from books. This was a result of the growing influence of that great promotor of educational reform, William Carstares, Principal of Edinburgh University, 1703 to 1715, and Moderator of the General Assembly four times between 1705 and 1715.

Kirkwood had, before the Revolution of 1688, already been involved with a scheme, paid for by the great chemist Robert Boyle, to distribute Irish Gaelic Old Testaments in the Highlands: incidentally, in 1687, Boyle presented a copy of the recently printed work to Edinburgh University Library through the good offices of Lawrence Charteris. The operation with the Old Testaments was followed in 1688 by distribution of a catechism by Lawrence Charteris himself, translated into Gaelic, the printing of which was again paid for by Boyle. In 1690 there was distribution of whole Bibles in Irish Gaelic.¹² No copy of the Charteris catechism seems to have survived. Charteris of course had strong links with Nairn, and Gilbert Burnet, who was on close terms with Boyle, was also involved with Kirkwood's post-1688 schemes, but more interesting here are Kirkwood's own early links with James Nairn, for he was Nairn's assistant at Wemyss in 1677 and 1678.

Was Nairn's library, which Kirkwood would have encountered at Wemyss, an influence on his later projects? Did Nairn talk to Kirkwood about his plans for the ultimate destination of his library? Both are possible surmises, although Kirkwood was probably also influenced by the work of Thomas Bray south of the border. Kirkwood's libraries largely died out

over the decades. Nairn's library, however, has been preserved in the greater whole of Edinburgh University Library, standing as a monument to the depth of learning present in the episcopal clergy in the period 1660 to 1688, and to their receptivity to new intellectual developments in the generation before the Scottish Age of Enlightenment.

Footnotes to Chapter One

1. The forms Nairn and Nairne are used indiscriminately in contemporary documents. The Canongate Kirk Session minutes (SRO CH 2/122/4) always use Nairne, but Nairn's own signature in the Canongate Parish Book of Accounts, 1659-73 (SRO CH 2/122/31), from a document dated 31 May 1661 is in the Nairn form as are all other adult signatures. His signature on the Edinburgh University graduation roll (EUL MS Da.) of 1650 however uses Nairne, as does his signature on the Edinburgh University Library Donations Register of the same year (EUL MS Da.1.32.). The Wemyss Kirk Session minutes (SRO CH 2/365/2-3) use the Nairne form more often than Nairn, but the latter also appears. Nairn is the spelling used in this thesis except when quoting from documents which use the Nairne form.
2. It has been reckoned that there were around 11,000 volumes in Edinburgh University Library in 1695, and in the preface to a catalogue (EUL MS Da.1.18.) completed in that year, the University librarian, Robert Henderson estimated that in 1667 there had been scarcely 4,000 volumes in the Library. Deducting Nairn's 1800 volumes there would have been 9,200 in 1695, making a growth of about 185 volumes *per annum* since 1667. By 1678, therefore, Edinburgh University Library probably numbered about 5,800 volumes. See C. P. Finlayson and S. M. Simpson, 'The History of the Library, 1580-1710', in *Edinburgh University Library, 1580-1980: a Collection of Historical Essays*, edited by J. R. Guild and A. Law (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 52-53.
3. W. J. Couper, *Bibliotheca Leightoniana, Dunblane* (Glasgow, 1901), p. 20. G. Davidson in his *Catalogue of Selected Volumes from the Leighton Library, Dunblane, Scotland* ([Dunblane], 1960), suggests that about one thousand two hundred remain. So does D. Butler in his *The Life and Letters of Robert Leighton* (London, 1903), p. 590.
4. Gordon Willis, 'The Leighton Library, Dunblane: its History and Contents', *The Bibliothek*, 10 (1981), 139-57.
5. W. Forbes Gray, *Catalogue of the Library of John Gray, Haddington* (Edinburgh, 1929).
6. W. Forbes Gray, *Catalogue of the Library of John Gray, Haddington*, pp. 5-6, 8, 29-30 (items 43-46: Burnet), 34 (item 100: Burnet), 70 (item 774: Burnet), 44 (items 245-47: Leighton, with the Gray note on item 246), 31 (item 49: note on Charteris), 85 (item 942: Nairn). Forbes Gray says (p. 5) that 'one or two' of the Burnet items were presentation copies.
7. Aberdeen University Library MS K111 and MS K113.

Footnotes to Chapter One continued

8. W. E. K. Rankin, 'A Seventeenth-Century Manse Library', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 17 (1969/71), 47-63.
9. *Bibliotheca Vaemiana, or, A Catalogue of the Books of ... Dr. James Weems ... to be Sold by Way of Auction* (Edinburgh, 1697).
10. *A Catalogue of ... Books, to be Sold by Way of Auction the 25th. Day of February ... the Library of Mr. William Annand* (Edinburgh, 1690).
11. Aberdeen University Library MS 1051.
12. NLS MS 976, fols 119-120 (Galbraith); J. F. Kellas Johnstone, 'Notes on the Library of the Earl of Erroll, Slains Castle, Aberdeenshire', *Aberdeen University Library Bulletin*, 3 (1917), 411-423.
13. *Journals of Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall...*, edited by D. Crawford, Scottish History Society, 36 (Edinburgh, 1900), especially pp. 283-299.
14. NLS MSS 14407, fols 51-54; 14629, fols 17, 95; 14636, fols 58-66; 14646, fols 5, 15, 18, 20, 31; 14648, fols 113-36; 14650, fols 150-69 (Yester Papers - Tweeddale). NLS MSS 5818, 5828 (Lothian). Also *The Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, First Earl of Ancram and his Son William, Third Earl of Lothian*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1875), II, 524-27, 531.
15. *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, 1652-1680 ...*, edited by D. Laing, Spalding Club, 33 (Aberdeen, 1863); W. A. Kelly, 'The Library of Lord George Douglas, c.1667-1693?' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Strathclyde, 1975); *The Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan, 1659-1660*, edited by A. G. Reid, Scottish History Society, 39 (Edinburgh, 1901); *The Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1650-1654*, edited by D. H. Fleming, Scottish History Society, Second Series, 18 (Edinburgh, 1919), *The Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1655-1660*, edited by J. D. Ogilvy, Scottish History Society, Third Series, 34 (Edinburgh, 1940); *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, edited by D. Laing, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1841-42); EUL MSS Da.1.1-4, Da.1.14-18, Da.1.29-34; NLS H.35.d.1/5 and H.35.d.1/17; 'Extracts from the Acts and Proceedings of the Presbytery of Haddington, Relating to Dr Gilbert Burnet and the Library of the Kirk of Salton, 1654-1669', in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, 3 (Edinburgh, 1855), pp. 389-402.
16. J. Bevan, 'Seventeenth-Century Students and Their Books', in *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983*, edited by G. Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 16-27.

Footnotes to Chapter One continued

17. C. Shepherd, 'Newtonianism in Scottish Universities in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment*, edited by R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 65-85; C. Shepherd, 'The Inter-Relationship between the Library and Teaching in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Edinburgh University Library, 1580-1980: a Collection of Historical Essays*, edited by J. R. Guild and A. Law (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 67-86. E. G. Forbes in his 'Philosophy and Science Teaching in the Seventeenth Century', in *Four Centuries*, pp. 28-37, which relies heavily on Dr Shepherd's work, mentions 'unpublished library accession lists' and their contents on several occasions and refers to Dr Shepherd's thesis for a 'detailed bibliography of this entire material'.
18. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 76, 125-26, 134-37. Henderson also contributes a note comparing Leighton's library with that of the Scougals in E. A. Knox, *Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow* (London, 1930), pp. 227-28, and this information is used by W. R. Foster in his *Bishop and Presbytery: the Church of Scotland, 1661-1688* (London, 1958), p. 160.
19. *Scottish Historical Review*, 51 (1972), 212-13.
20. J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961), p. 22.
21. S. Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1956), pp. 54-55.
22. For example: M. H. Curtis, 'Library Catalogues and Tudor Oxford and Cambridge', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 5 (1958), 111-20; J. L. Lievsay, 'Italian Books on English Shelves', in his *The Englishman's Italian Books, 1550-1700* (Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 33-63; E. Sangwine, 'The Private Libraries of Tudor Doctors', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 33 (1978), 167-84; L. Jardine, 'Humanism and the Sixteenth-Century Arts Course', *History of Education*, 4 (1975), 16-31; M. J. Smith, 'Some Humanist Libraries in Early Tudor Cambridge', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 5 (1974), 15-34; F. J. Levy, 'How Information Spread Among the Gentry, 1540-1640', *Journal of British Studies*, 21 (2) (1982), 11-34.
23. D. Shaw, 'Adam Bothwell, a Conservator of the Renaissance in Scotland', in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson*, edited by I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 141-169. *Warrender Papers*, edited by A. I. Cameron, vol. 2, Scottish History Society, 3rd ser., 19 (Edinburgh, 1932), pp. 396-413.
24. *The Bibliothek*, 6 (1971), 61.

Footnotes to Chapter One continued

25. A good survey of the history of definitions is given in R. Stokes *The Function of Bibliography*, 2nd edition (Aldershot, 1982), pp. 1-15.
26. P. S. Dunkin, *Bibliography: Tiger or Fat Cat?* (London, 1975), p. 7. The reference is to P. Freer, *Bibliography and Modern Book Production* (Johannesburg, 1954), pp. 1-13.
27. The following paragraphs follow the terms used by R. Stokes in his *The Function of Bibliography*.
28. The quotation is from the English translation by David Gerard, *The Coming of the Book: the Impact of Printing, 1450-1800* (London, 1976), p. 9.
29. H.-J. Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs, et société à Paris au XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Genève, 1969); H.-J. Martin, 'Livres et société', in *Le Livre conquérant, Histoire de l'édition française*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1982), pp. 543-61. The latter gives references to much recent French work.
30. For example: A. Labarre, *Le Livre dans la vie amiénoise du seizième siècle: l'enseignement des inventaires après décès, 1503-1576* (Paris, 1971); M. Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris au milieu du XVIIIe siècle (1750-1759)* (Paris, 1978); and C. Thomassery, 'Livres et culture clericale à Paris au XVIIIe siècle: quarante bibliothèques d'ecclésiastiques parisiens', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 3 (1973), 281-300. Two important studies predate the publication of *L'Apparition*: R. Doucet, *Les bibliothèques parisiennes au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1956); and A. H. Schutz, *Vernacular Books in Parisian Private Libraries of the Sixteenth Century According to the Notarial Inventories*, University of North Carolina Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, 25 (Chapel Hill, 1955). These show how historiography was developing. An excellent survey of the evolution of *histoire du livre*, giving many references to works using the contents of libraries, is W. Kirsop, 'Literary History and Book Trade History, the Lesson of *L'Apparition du livre*', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 16 (1979), 488-535. Also useful for eighteenth-century work is R. Birn, 'Livre et Société After Ten Years: Formation of a Discipline', *Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 151 (1976), 287-312.
31. P. H. Brown, *History of Scotland* (Cambridge, 1902), II, 379.
32. Sir G. Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1955), p. 263.
33. *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 58 (Geneva, 1967), pp. 1636, 1643.

Footnotes to Chapter One continued

34. J. Clive, 'The Social Background of the Scottish Renaissance', in *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, edited by N. T. Phillipson and R. Mitchison (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 225-42.
35. *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment*, edited by R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner (Edinburgh, 1982).
36. R. Cant, 'Origins of the Enlightenment in Scotland: the Universities', in *Origins and Nature*, p. 42.
37. For example: H. Ouston, 'York in Edinburgh: James VII and the Patronage of Learning in Scotland, 1679-1688', in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, edited by J. Dwyer, R. A. Mason and A. Murdoch (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 133-55.
38. H. Meikle, *Some Aspects of Later Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Glasgow, 1947).
39. Leighton Library MS 1; the preliminaries, by Bishop Robert Douglas, were printed in 'An Account of the Foundation of the Leightonian Library', in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, 3 (Edinburgh, 1855), pp. 227-72.
40. Douglas, 'An Account', p. 263, and information kindly supplied by Mr G. Willis.
41. NLS Acc. 7241. See also: M. C. T. Simpson, 'Robert Leighton's Catalogue of His Own Library: a Note', *The Bibliothek* 12 (1985), 91-92.
42. Douglas, 'An Account', p. 263.
43. W. Forbes Gray, *Catalogue of the Library of John Gray*, p.8.
44. W. Forbes Gray, *Catalogue of the Library of John Gray*, p.8.
45. W. Forbes Gray, *Catalogue of the Library of John Gray*, p.8.
46. W. J. Couper, *The Gray Library, Haddington* (Haddington, 1916), pp. 7, 8.
47. The 1700 catalogue is incorporated into the 'Catalogus librorum in Bibliotheca Collegii Regii Aberdonensis contentorum secundum ordinem alphabeticum', Aberdeen University Library MS K111, pages headed 'Libri Episcopi'. The 1717 catalogue is incorporated into the 'Catalogus librorum in Bibliotheca Collegii Regii Universitatis Aberdonensis ... 1717', Aberdeen University Library MS K113, pages also headed 'Libri Episcopi'. I am also indebted to Dr D. Johnston for information on the history of the Scougal books in Aberdeen University Library.

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48. *Catalogus Librorum Quibus Bibliothecam Academiae Jacobi Regis Edinburgensae Adauxit R. D. Jacobus Narnius, Pastor Vaemiensis* (Edinburgh, 1678). Henceforth this will be referred to as 'the 1678 catalogue'. The Latin life which precedes it will be referred to as 'the Latin life'.
49. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography' in *A Supplement to Burnet's 'History of My Own Time'*, edited by H. C. Foxcroft (Oxford, 1902), p. 461.
50. See the introduction of Aeneas Mackay to his edition of R. Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, vol. 1, Scottish History Society, 42 (Edinburgh, 1899).
51. EUL Da.4.98. The mistake occurs in his addition of volumes whose authors' names begin with the letter C.
52. EUL Da.1.31., p. 14.
53. A. Bower, *History of the University of Edinburgh*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1817-30), III, 354.
54. 'Mr Nairn' on 62; 'Mr: Nairn' on 411, followed by a partially erased phrase ('minister of weems?'); 'Mr Nairn his book' on 946.
55. 1075 and 1163. The inscription looks as if the J and N are joined by a stroke creating an M (JN): perhaps this denotes 'Magister'.
56. There are no books mentioned in his will: SRO CC 8/8/68, fols 278r-279r (7 May 1656). However, it is possible he could have owned books and disposed of them before his death. For James Nairn senior see also the next chapter.
57. 'O si fortuna', 'tandem fortuna triumphat', 'o mihi praeteritus' are the main phrases which appear to make sense.
58. Items 58, 204, 205, 219, 226, 644, 898, 919, 1227, 1234, 1265, 1335. Of these items 204, 226, 644, 1234, 1265 and 1335 mention that they were bought in Paris, and items 644, 898, and 1234 also give a date.

Footnotes to Chapter Two

1. J. Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to ... 1678* (Edinburgh, 1817), p. 293.
2. R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, [edited] by R. Burns, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1830), II, 177.
3. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*, pp. 178, 197; G. D. Henderson, *The Church of Scotland: a Short History* (Edinburgh, 1939), p. 91; G. D. Henderson, 'Leighton and His Friends', *Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, 1, part 3 (1932), 5, 6, 9. The quotation is from page five of the last mentioned item.
4. W. R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: the Church of Scotland, 1661-1688* (London, 1958), p. 120.
5. BL Add MS 23117, fol. 43.
6. SRO PC 12/3.
7. 1646 signature: Edinburgh University Matriculation Roll EUL MS Da. This signature is latinised. 1650 signatures: Edinburgh University Graduation Register EUL MS Da. and Edinburgh University Library Donations Register, 1627-1696 EUL MS Da.1.32., p. 32. 1661 signature: SRO CH 2/122/31 (document dated 31 May 1661). 1665 signature: Edinburgh City Archives, Moses's Bundles, no. 51 (2248). 1668 signatures: Edinburgh City Archives, Moses's Bundles, no. 59 (2657) and 61 (2738). 1675 signature: Edinburgh City Archives, Moses's Bundles, no. 66 (2973).
8. NLS MS 1759, fols. 9r-15r. Written by or for Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock.
9. Bodleian Library MS 14260, fols. 99-104. I am indebted to my supervisor, Dr J. Bevan, for supplying me with a photograph of the first page and an abstract of the whole; Dr I. G. Brown also looked at the manuscript on my behalf.
10. Unassigned
11. *Roll of Edinburgh Guild Burgesses and Guild Brethren, 1406-1700*, edited by C. B. Boog Watson, Scottish Record Society, 59 (Edinburgh, 1929), p. 375. The original in the Council Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, volume 20, 1 December 1658 - 31 July 1661, fol. 147v, has been checked.

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12. *Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1595-1700*, edited by H. Paton, Scottish Record Society, 27 (Edinburgh, 1905), p. 510.
13. General Register Office for Scotland. OPR 685' /3.
14. OPR 685' /3: Robert, 26 December 1620; Catherine, 17 April 1622; Janet, 22 February 1624; Archibald, 27 November 1625; Bessie, 3 June 1628; John, 31 July 1631. All were the children of John Nairn and Marion Tod.
15. I have checked the Baptism Register to 1633 and no more children of Elizabeth Tod appear.
16. *The Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1665 to 1680* (Edinburgh, 1950), p. 402, mention a sister as a beneficiary under Nairn's will, and the receipt for Nairn's stipend for Martinmas 1675 is countersigned by Archibald Flint, Nairn's 'sister sone': Edinburgh City Archives, Moses's Bundles, no. 66 (2973).
17. First married Marion Sandilands, who died in March 1654 (testament recorded on 15 March 1654, SRO CC 8/8/68, fols. 2v-3r), and became a burgess by right of his father, 8 August 1660. In the printed index to Edinburgh testaments (*Commissariat Record of Edinburgh Register of Testaments: Part 2, 1601-1700*, edited by F. J. Grant (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 299) she is erroneously referred to as the wife of the John Nairn who died in 1633. The younger John Nairn's will is recorded in SRO CC 8/8/72, fols. 138r-140v (26 June 1666). For his son see the *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses* and for his descendants see C. B. Boog Watson, 'Notes on the Closes and Wynds of Old Edinburgh', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 12 (1923), 9-10.
18. C. B. Boog Watson, 'List of Owners of Property in Edinburgh, 1635', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 13 (1924), 99. Also information from tax rolls of the 1640s and 1650s in the Edinburgh City Archives.
19. J. J. Brown, 'The Social, Political and Economic Influences of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-1638' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1986). The quotation is from p. vi.
20. J. J. Brown, p. 505, epitomises Nairn's career.
21. The main feature of his testament (SRO CC 8/8/68, fols. 278r-279r (7 May 1656)) is an outstanding debt, but J. J. Brown, p. 6, has warned against assuming that testaments record total wealth accurately.
22. Council Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, vol. 17 fol. 330v, entry under 28 July 1652. The other surety was Nairn's father.

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23. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1604 to 1626*, edited by M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1931), p. 280; *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1626 to 1641*, edited by M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1936), p. 1; *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1642 to 1655*, edited by M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1938), pp. 310-11.
24. D. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, edited by T. Thomson, Wodrow Society, 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1842-49), VII, 599. I am indebted to Dr J. J. Brown for this reference.
25. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1626 to 1641*, pp. 49, 74.
26. *The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, 1296 to 1932* (Edinburgh, 1932), p. 43. J. J. Brown, p. 533, gives an epitome of his career to c.1640. The relationship with the Nairns is shown in the *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*, pp. 375, 495.
27. W. Steven, *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1849), p. 54.
28. Edinburgh University Matriculation Roll EUL MS Da.
29. The average age for entrants was fourteen: see C. Shepherd, 'University Life in the Seventeenth Century', in *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983*, p. 4.
30. A. Bower, *The History of the University of Edinburgh*, I, 204-05.
31. Sir A. Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its First Three Hundred Years*, 2 vols (London, 1884), II, 279.
32. In the broadside list of theses defended on 15 July 1650 (EUL Da.) there is a mathematical section whereas for the previous three years such a section does not appear. It is only in 1646, and previous to that 1642, that mathematical theses appear, and Crawford was regent for both these classes.
33. C. Lerner, *Enemies of God: the Witch-Hunt in Scotland* (London, 1981), p. 74.
34. Nairn's name appears at the head of the fourth column recording graduands in the broadside list of theses defended on 15 July 1650 (EUL Da.).
35. J. Nicoll, *A Diary of Public Transactions ... from January 1650 to June 1667*, Bannatyne Club, 52 (Edinburgh, 1836), p. 35.

Footnotes to Chapter Two continued

36. Eleven others graduated at various times in Edinburgh between May and July 1651: *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity and Law at the University of Edinburgh since its Foundation* (Edinburgh, 1858), pp. 70-72.
37. *The Life of Mr. Robert Blair ... Containing his Autobiography from 1593 to 1636 ... with Supplement ... to 1680 by ... William Row*, edited by T. McCrie, Wodrow Society, 11 (Edinburgh, 1848), pp. 262-63; *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, edited by D. Laing, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1841-42), III, 131, 173.
38. *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland holden ... 1650, ... 1651 ... 1652*, Scottish History Society, 58 (Edinburgh, 1909), pp. 522-56.
39. Council Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, vol. 17, fol. 330r (23 July 1652), fol. 330v (28 July 1652).
40. R. Burns in his introduction to R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, I, ii.
41. Edinburgh University Library Donations Register, 1627-1696. EUL MS Da.1.32., p. 33. The modest debt of £14 recorded in the testament of Edinburgh bookseller John Hill in 1654 as being owed by 'Mr James Narne' ('The Wills of Thomas Bassandyne and other Printers &c in Edinburgh, 1577-1687' in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, 2 (Edinburgh, 1836), p. 276) may be the first evidence of the Revd James Nairn's activities as a private book collector, or it may be evidence of his activities as librarian at Edinburgh University. It may of course be another James Nairn altogether: see Appendix II of this thesis.
42. *The Memoirs of Sir Robert Sibbald*, edited by F. P. Hett (London, 1932), pp. 54, 56; G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time: Part 1, The Reign of Charles the Second*, edited by O. Airy, 2 vols (Oxford, 1897-1900), I, 239-42; G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', in *A Supplement to Burnet's 'History of My Own Time'*, pp. 9-13.
43. Referred to by D. Butler, *Life and Letters of Robert Leighton*, p. 72.
44. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1642 to 1655*, p. 328.
45. The quotations are taken from a twentieth-century transcription of the diary by Marguerite Wood. The original, in a private collection, was unavailable for prolonged study. The transcription modernises the spelling. This particular passage has been published in *Scottish Diaries and Memoirs, 1550-1746*, edited by J. G. Fyfe (Stirling, 1927), p. 126, but Fyfe omits the words 'Lady Margaret Leslie'; he also

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follows the Earl's spelling. Although termed a diary it is really a notebook of random jottings, preserving no chronological sequence.

46. W. R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery*, pp. 93-95.
47. SRO CH 2/122/4, pp. 181-82. 'Addition and exercise' were terms for scriptural commentary and elucidation.
48. SRO CH 2/122/4, p. 195.
49. E. A. Knox, *Robert Leighton*, p. 158.
50. J. Buckroyd, 'Lord Broghill and the Scottish Church, 1655-1656', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), 359-69.
51. *The Presbyterie Booke of Kirkcaldie ... 1630 to ... 1653*, edited by W. Stevenson (Kirkcaldy, 1900) pp. 263, 271, 275-76.
52. H. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, New ed., 7 vols (Edinburgh, 1915-28), I, 24.
53. J. J. Brown, pp. 454, 505.
54. SRO CH 2/122/4, p. 210. Leslie was dead by 2 September.
55. *Register of the Burgesses of the Canongate from 27th June 1622 to 25th September 1733*, edited by H. Armet (Edinburgh, 1951), p. 49; *Roll of Edinburgh Guild Burgesses*, p. 375.
56. SRO CH 2/122/4, pp. 221, 290.
57. SRO CH 2/252/3, pp. 113 et seq.
58. *Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh, 1657-1660*, edited by W. Stephen, Scottish History Society, Third Series, 16 (Edinburgh, 1930), p. 186. For the 1652 to 1657 records see: *Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh, 1652-1657*, edited by W. Stephen, Scottish History Society, Third Series, 1 (Edinburgh, 1921).
59. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 12.
60. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', pp. 460-61.
61. G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, I, 384-85.
62. G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, I, 331.

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63. Quoted in R. Wodrow, *The History of the ... Church of Scotland*, I, 81.
64. Quoted in R. Wodrow, *The History of the ... Church of Scotland*, I, 82-83.
65. The Act is quoted in R. Wodrow, *The History of the ... Church of Scotland*, I, 266.
66. Quotation taken from the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Charles II*, vol. 2, 1661-1662 (London, 1861), p. 520. The synod minutes for this period have not survived.
67. R. Wodrow, *The History of the ... Church of Scotland*, I, 298. On p. 324 Nairn is listed as a being an Edinburgh minister who conformed, but his collation was of course for Bolton, not the Canongate. The *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Charles II*, Vol. 2, 1661-1662, p. 520 in a document dated 18 October notes Nairn's collation.
68. A. Bower, *The History of the University of Edinburgh*, I, 221.
69. T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 26.
70. NLS MS 1668, fol. 2r.
71. *Letters from Lady Margaret Burnet to John, Duke of Lauderdale*, Bannatyne Club, 24 (Edinburgh, 1828), p. 4. The year is not given in the letter but is supplied by the editor. The original is in the National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 81.1.12.
72. BL Add MS 23117, fol. 43.
73. H. Scott, *Fasti*, I, 357.
74. G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, I, 385-86.
75. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', pp. 88-89.
76. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 86.
77. Quoted in T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet*, p. 47.
78. SRO CH 2/185/7, pp. 9, 27.
79. *The Life of Robert Blair...*, p. 468.

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80. J. Hunter, *The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld, 1660-1689*, 2 vols (London, 1917), I, 142.
81. H. Scott, *Fasti*, V, 120.
82. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1655 to 1665*, edited by M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1940), p. 364. He is referred to in this as John Nairn but the original says James quite clearly.
83. SRO CH 2/365/2, p. 280.
84. For an excellent account of Scottish trade at the time see T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh, 1963).
85. T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p. 12.
86. SRO CH 2/365/2, p. 322 (8 March 1668); CH 2/365/3, pp. 13, 38 (14 November 1669, 19 January 1673).
87. *Scottish Diaries and Memoirs*, edited by J. G. Fyfe, p. 152.
88. *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir J. Balfour Paul, 9 vols (Edinburgh, 1904-14), VIII, 502. *Scotland and the Protectorate ... January 1654 to June 1659*, edited by C. H. Firth, Scottish History Society, 31 (Edinburgh, 1899), pp. 314-16.
89. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Third Series, vol. 1, 1661-1664 (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 2.
90. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, III, 438.
91. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 89.
92. Sir W. Fraser, *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss of Wemyss*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1888), III, 140.
93. For Wemyss schools see: J. M. Beale, 'A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife from the Reformation to 1872' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 29, 31, 38, 43-44, 223-24 and Appendix I: Wemyss - schoolmasters.
94. SRO CH 2/154/3, p. 109.
95. *The Diary of Mr. John Lamont of Newton, 1649-1671*, Maitland Club, 7 (Edinburgh, 1830), pp. 193, 198; SRO CH 2/154/3, p. 33.
96. SRO CH 2/365/2, pp. 282, 284, 287.

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97. *Scottish Diaries and Memoirs*, edited by J. G. Fyfe, p. 128.
98. *Lauderdale Papers*, edited by O. Airy, 3 vols, Camden Society, New Series, 34, 36, 38 (London, 1884-5), II, 119, letter dated 24 September 1668.
99. J. Kirkton, *The Secret and True History*, p. 293; R. Wodrow, *The History of the ... Church of Scotland*, II, 177.
100. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Third Series, vol 3, 1669-1672 (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 680.
101. 'Letters from John, Second Earl of Lauderdale to John, Second Earl of Tweeddale and others', edited by H. M. Paton, in *Scottish History Society Miscellany*, 6 (1939), 236; G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, I, 524.
102. SRO CH 2/365/3, p. 32.
103. Transcription of Lord Wemyss's diary by M. Wood, pp. 93, 95. It is not known whether Lord Wemyss was using Old Style (Scottish) dating or New Style (French) dating for Nairn's operation.
104. Transcription of Lord Wemyss's diary by M. Wood, p. 93.
105. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, December 1671-May 17 1672* (London, 1897), p. 459.
106. BL Add MS 23135 fol. 172.
107. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, May 18th to September 30th 1672* (London, 1899), p. 318.
108. *Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane, 1662-1688*, with an introduction and biographical notes by J. Wilson (Edinburgh, 1877).
109. G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, I, 536. Burnet erroneously says the vacancies were caused by the deaths of the previous incumbents.
110. G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, I, 384.
111. *Lauderdale Papers*, II, 219.
112. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, March-October 1673* (London, 1902), pp. 20, 454, 460.
113. G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, I, 513.

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114. See also the Latin life, pp. 9-10. More will be said of Nairn's political views in chapter seven. For the chaplaincy appointment see the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, March 1st 1675 to February 29th 1676* (London, 1907), p. 240.
115. SRO C3/9, no. 303, dated 27 January 1675. J. Hunter, *The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld, 1660-1689*, 2 vols (London, 1917), I, 208.
116. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1665 to 1680*, edited by M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1950), p. 338.
117. Transcription of Lord Wemyss's diary by M. Wood, p. 93.
118. Transcription of Lord Wemyss's diary by M. Wood, p. 95. No records of any of the Edinburgh burial grounds survive for 1678.
119. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', p. 462.
120. The copy of the 1678 catalogue in the Leighton Library has no markings indubitably made by Leighton. There is no provenance index to the Leighton Library.
121. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 41.
122. The salary was £200 sterling according to E. A. Knox, *Robert Leighton*, p. 182; 'not £200 a year' according to Gilbert Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 15; and £105 according to W. R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery*, p. 35.
123. W. R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery*, pp. 35-36.
124. W. H. Makey, *Church of the Covenant, 1637-1651: Revolution and Social Change in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 108.
125. SRO CH 2/122/4, p. 243; CH 2/122/32, documents dated 28 February 1660, 15 June 1660, 18 December 1660.
126. Council Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, vol. 16, fol. 25r and v (11 December 1644). Confirmed as Nairn's stipend in vol. 19, fol. 164r (7 November 1656).
127. SRO CC 8/8/68, fol. 327v.
128. For example SRO CH 2/122/31, p. 15.

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129. For the Wemyss salary: Edinburgh City Archives, Moses's Bundles, nos 51 (2248), 59 (2657), 61 (2738), and 66 (2973). Nairn also received £60 annually for providing communion elements. For the chaplaincy salary: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, March 1st 1675 to February 29th 1676* p. 240.
130. EUL MS Da.1.32., p. 32.
131. SRO RD 4/4, pp. 22-23 (13 December 1661).
132. SRO CC 8/8/68, fol. 327v. For clerical lending in general see Makey, p. 116.
133. SRO CC 8/8/66A, fol. 84r.
134. Edinburgh City Archives, Moses's Bundles, nos 51 (2248), and 59 (2657): these documents were witnessed by Nairn's servant Andrew Lillie. The gift of the communion cup is noted in SRO CH 2/365/3, p. 49.
135. The Latin life mentions that Nairn supervised the alterations to the manse ('Pastoris Vaemensis Ecclesiae aedes') immediately after mentioning his generosity in general terms and before mentioning his bequests.
136. SRO CC 8/8/70-79.
137. SRO CC 20/4/4, document dated 11 July 1684. W. E. K. Rankin, 'A Seventeenth-Century Manse Library', p. 47, erroneously gives the amount as £66 13s.4d.
138. SRO CC 20/4/16, fol. 56r.
139. NLS MS 976 fols. 119-20. A fifty-sixth item, the mammoth five-volume *Synopsis Criticorum* (London, 1669-76) of Matthew Poole, was also sold later (fol. 123r, letter dated 28 January 1686) for a sum of gold the executor thought worth around £5 sterling.
140. Sir A. Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*, II, 222, 254. Grant, citing Hew Scott's *Fasti*, erroneously says Cant's library was valued at £5000.
141. Sir A. Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*, II, 281.
142. SRO CC 8/8/71, fol. 109v (20 March 1663).

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143. Patrick Cook: SRO CC 8/8/74, fol. 287r (15 March 1673).
 Robert Alison: SRO CC 8/8/75, fols. 51r (23 July 1674) and fol. 156r (3 July 1675).
 Archibald Turner: SRO CC 8/8/76, (11 June 1681) and (30 August 1684). (This volume is unfoliated.)

144. The Wills of Thomas Bassandyne and other Printers &c in Edinburgh, 1577-1687', in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, 2 (Edinburgh, 1836), pp. 265-66 (Robert Bryson), 271 (Robert Crombie), 278-99 (Andrew Wilson), 290-91 (John Calderwood). Not all the debtors of Wilson and Calderwood are printed in the Bannatyne Club extracts. The other debtors in Wilson's testament (SRO CC 8/8/68) do not include any other individuals designated minister but two others at least, John Oswald and James Guthrie, were clerics. Calderwood's testament (CC 8/8/77) lists ministers not mentioned in the Bannatyne extracts. The most interesting will of all as regards debtors, that of Archibald Hislop (CC 8/8/76), has not been published. 'James Nairne', if referring to the Revd James Nairn, would have of course been dead by this time. See also Appendix II.

145. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life*, pp. 125-26.

146. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, I, lxiii, lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

Footnotes to Chapter Three

1. J. Grant, 'Archibald Hislop, Stationer, Edinburgh, 1668-1678', *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 12 (1921-25), 35-51.
2. SRO CS 96/3-6.
3. H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907); H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922).
4. *Catologus* [sic] *Librorum Venalium apud Davidem Trench, Bibliopolam Edinburgensem, Anno Dom. 1667* ([Edinburgh] 1667). Graham Pollard in G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge, 1965), p. 168, says that the earliest British example of a book carrying advertisements for other works by the same press that he has found is on an Edinburgh item of 1603 printed by Robert Charteris. I have not investigated this form of advertising in Scottish imprints after 1660, or advertising works by the same author in spare space, but by then it was certainly common in English imprints: G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, pp. 164-70.
5. Unassigned.
6. G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8 (pp. 84-102, 134-77). See also Edward Arber, 'Contemporary Printed Lists of Books Produced in England', *Bibliographica*, 3 (1897), 173-191.
7. J. Grant, 'Archibald Hislop', p. 48.
8. Anthony Hobson in the introduction (p.x) to A.N.L. Munby and L. Coral, *British Book Sale Catalogues, 1676-1800: a Union List* (London, 1977), and Roger North, quoted by Pollard in G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, p. 95.
9. This copy has no Hain marks earlier than the post-1753 shelf mark.
10. R. Douglas, 'An Account', p. 263.
11. Gordon Willis has kindly examined this item in the Leighton Library for me: there is no definite evidence for its ownership by Leighton but Mr Willis suggests in a letter that a stain on the title-page shows that it once sported a type of pasted ticket used very early in the life of the Leighton Library.

Footnotes to Chapter Three continued

12. Another survivor is probably the catalogue of French books offered for sale by Robert Littlebury in 1678, but by this time Leighton was no longer in Scotland.
13. G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, chapters 3 and 5 (pp. 70-83 and 103-123), also pp. 174-75.
14. Unassigned.
15. Gordon Willis, 'The Leighton Library', p. 148.
16. NLS MS 14407, fols 51-54. Tweeddale is not mentioned by name in these letters and it is just possible they were addressed to Tweeddale's son, Lord Yester.
17. NLS MS 14407, fols 51-52.
18. EUL Da.1.32., p. 45.
19. Information kindly supplied by Gordon Willis. Several Frankfurt fair catalogues were reprinted by London stationers around 1620: see G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, pp. 87-89.
20. The auction catalogue appears to have survived in a unique copy in the Abbotsford Library: *Catalogue of Several Excellent and Curious Books &c whereof there is an Auction ... on the 10th of March* (Edinburgh, 1686). I have not consulted this item. Information on the title is taken from the *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford*, Maitland Club, 45 (Edinburgh, 1838). I am indebted to Dr B. P. Hillyard for help in tracking down this item. Graham Pollard in Pollard and Ehrman's *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, p. 218, gives 1688 as the date of the first auction held in Edinburgh. This is based on information given by John Nicholls in his *Literary Anecdotes* (London, 1812-15). The catalogue has survived, again, seemingly, in a unique copy, owned by Lord Crawford. The date of this auction was 12 November 1688. The 1686 and 1688 catalogue are recorded by Munby and Coral in their *British Book Sale Catalogues*, but no hint of their being auction catalogues is given there. Harry Aldis in his *A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700* (Edinburgh, 1904) points out (p. xii) that the 1645 will of the Edinburgh bookseller Thomas Lawson mentions that his books were 'sold and roupeit' after his death, but no-one seems to have followed this up since.
21. G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, chapter 11 (pp. 216-48).

Footnotes to Chapter Three continued

22. WLS H.35.d.1/17. Dr B. P. Hillyard of the National Library of Scotland has counted the items and very kindly gave me a copy of notes, which contain the figure, prepared by him for his contribution to the forthcoming volume celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of the formal opening of the Advocates Library in 1689.
23. I am indebted to Dr B. P. Hillyard for showing me a draft copy of his forthcoming article 'The Ogstouns and The Advocates' Library' which is the source of this information.
24. This copy has no Nairn marks earlier than the post-1753 shelf mark. There were two Charles Lumsdens, father and son, both ministers of Duddingston and both book collectors. Their beautiful copybook italic signatures are indistinguishable to me.
25. A. Taylor, *Renaissance Guides to Books: an Inventory and Some Conclusions* (Berkeley, 1945), p. 51. This work by Taylor and also his *Book Catalogues: their Varieties and Uses*, second edition (Winchester, 1986) (first edition: Chicago, 1957) have been invaluable in the preparation of this section on bibliographies.
26. *Catalogues of Scottish Writers* [edited by J. Maidment] (Edinburgh, 1833).
27. For a full discussion of the great variety of European library catalogues see A. Taylor, *Book Catalogues: their Varieties and Uses* and G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, chapters 10, 11 and 12 (pp. 198-259).
28. It is not possible to be absolutely certain from the copies at present in Aberdeen University Library.
29. This copy has the Nairn donation inscription. Leighton also owned a copy but by this time he had left Scotland for good.
30. The Leighton Library copy has no marks indubitably Robert Leighton's; the Gray copy is bound up in a pamphlet volume and is in no. 942 in W. Forbes Gray's 1929 printed catalogue of the Gray library; for Lauder's copy see *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, p. 298.
31. *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, pp. 283-84.
32. 'The Wills of Thomas Bassandyne and Other Printers, &c', pp. 265-66 (Robert Bryson), pp. 278-79 (Andrew Wilson), pp. 290-91 (John Calderwood). Calderwood's testament is recorded in SRO CC 8/8/77 (10 May 1683).
33. SRO CC 8/8/76, fols 156r-158v.

Footnotes to Chapter Three continued

34. J. Grant, 'Archibald Hislop', pp. 49-51 (20 May 1668), pp. 37-38 (5 June 1677 - not 1667 as stated on p. 37).
35. SRO CS 96/4.
36. *The Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan*, pp. 109, 134, 180, 189, 204.
37. *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, pp. 283, 287, 294.
38. *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, pp. 284, 295.
39. EUL Da.1.32., pp. 45-46.
40. *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, pp. 290-91.
41. NLS MS 14648, fols 113-14, 116-28. Yester himself was in London at some but not all of the times covered by these accounts.
42. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, III, 366. EUL Da.1.32., p. 42.
43. EUL Da.1.34., fols. 8-9.
44. *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie*, pp. 217, 308. *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, p. 292.
45. NLS Adv. MS 81.1.22., fol. 4.
46. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, II, 240.
47. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, II, 158, 171, 195-96, 290.
48. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, I, 227.
49. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, I, 10.
50. NLS MS 14648, fol. 117.
51. *The Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, First Earl of Ancrum and his son William, Third Earl of Lothian*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1875), II, 524-27. NLS Adv MS 31.1.10., fols 55-64 (John Clerk's Account Book).
52. *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, pp. 153, 155, 157, 160-63.
53. From notes on the items in Nairn's hand six items were certainly bought: 204, 226, 644, 1234, 1265, 1335.
54. *The Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr*, II, 531. EUL Da.1.33., p. 74.

Footnotes to Chapter Three continued

55. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, III, 23.
56. The purchases are noted on the Library's copy of the catalogue, H.35.d.1/17.
57. *The Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr*, II, 256-7.
58. T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*, p. 104.
59. EUL Da.1.34., fols 8-9.
60. NLS MS 14407, fols 51-54.
61. W.A. Kelly, 'The Library of Lord George Douglas'; K. Swift, 'Bibliotheca Sunderlandiana: the Making of an Eighteenth-Century Library', in *Bibliophily*, edited by R. Myers and M. Harris (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 72-75.
62. For Yester see NLS MS 14646, where fol. 5v contains a bill for books purchased in France, and fols 15, 18, and 20 are invoices from Italian booksellers; for Douglas see W.A. Kelly, 'The Library of Lord George Douglas'.
63. For a discussion of seventeenth-century English trade binding practice see M. Foot, 'Some Bookbinders Price Lists of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Economics of the British Booktrade, 1605 - 1939*, edited by R. Myers and M. Harris (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 124-175.
64. G. Naudé, *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library ... And Now Interpreted by J. Evelyn* (London, 1661), pp. 61-62.
65. Quoted by D.J. McKitterick, *The Library of Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe, c.1539-1618* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 24.
66. S. Dahl, *History of the Book* (New York, 1958), p. 164; J. Storm van Leeuwen, *De Achttiendse-eeuwse Haagse Boekband* ('s-Gravenhage, 1976), p. 480.
67. NLS MS 14407, fol. 51r.
68. NLS MS 14646, fol. 31.
69. *The Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr*, II, 531.
70. EUL Da.1.32., p. 119; Da.1.33., p. 87.

Footnotes to Chapter Three continued

71. 'Sir George Mackenzie's Speech at the Formal Opening of the Advocates Library, Edinburgh 15 March 1689. Translated from the Latin by J. H. Loudon', *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 2 (1938-45), 284.
72. EUL Da.1.33., p. 31.
73. NLS MS 9931, fol. 35.
74. D. Robertson, 'A Packet of Books for Scotland', *The Bibliothek*, 6 (1971), 52-53.
75. EUL Da.1.34., fol. 4; B. P. Hillyard, 'The Ogstouns and the Advocates' Library', forthcoming; NLS MS 14650, fols 151-54, 160, 165-66.
76. NLS MS 14648, fols 113-4, 116, 126-27; EUL Da.1.33., p. 115.
77. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, I, 24.
78. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, I, 10.
79. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, I, 227.
80. For example, *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, pp. 283, 299.
81. The nine items (eight volumes) in question are 64, 159, 189, 189A, 296, 488, 496, 670, and 963. 189, 189A, 496, 670, and 963 all bear the signature of the second Earl of Wemyss and were presumably gifts. 159, 189, 189A, and 296 have no Nairn identification before the mid-eighteenth century shelf mark, but the Wemyss signature on 189 and 189A surely shows the volume to be Nairn's.
82. The twenty-nine are 67, 76, 191, 192, 247, 278, 351, 499, 601, 768, 858, 1037 (two items), 1071, 1098, 1284, 1284A, 1291, 1354, 1456, 1473, 1491, 1495 (three items), 1530, 1535, 1577, 1622-24, and 1638. All but 191, 192, 247, 499, 601, and 1473 have no Nairn identification before the mid-eighteenth century shelf mark.
83. All but one of the Bothwell items (1326) and the Crichton volume have no Nairn identification before the mid-eighteenth century shelf mark. With the Moray volume, the entry in the 1678 catalogue lists both items in the volume, which shows the Moray copy to have been Nairn's. The Nairn inscription on 1051 proves his ownership.
84. EUL Da.1.31., p. 29.

Footnotes to Chapter Three continued

85. WLS MS 5818. Editions are not noted and so the *Hypnerotomachia* and *Liber Chronicarum* may not necessarily have been the most highly prized 1499 and 1493 printings.
86. *The Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr*, II, 531.
87. A. Taylor, *Renaissance Guides to Books: an Inventory and Some Conclusions*, p. 29. Also A. Taylor, *Book Catalogues: Their Varieties and Uses*, p. 57.
88. EUL Da.1.34., p. 4.
89. It is highly unlikely that there is 100% accuracy in this breakdown, or in all subsequent imprint breakdowns in this thesis. However, it is to be hoped that undetected false imprints, false misattributions, etc., will not be statistically important. They may even cancel each other out. Technically, the Spanish Netherlands were part of the Holy Roman Empire, although separated here. The Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces came into being after the advent of printing: the allocation of imprint to region is determined by the ultimate 'destination' of the place in question, irrespective of date of imprint.
90. G. Willis, 'The Leighton Library', p. 149. W. J. Couper, *Bibliotheca Leightoniana*, p. 25, regards the lack of Scottish imprints as 'the surprise of the collection'.
91. Sir Thomas Urquhart, *The Jewel*, edited by R. D. S. Jack and R. J. Lyell (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 173.
92. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, III, 382.
93. G. Willis, 'The Leighton Library', pp. 147, 150. W. J. Couper, *Bibliotheca Leightoniana*, p. 21.
94. EUL Da.1.32-33.
95. EUL Da.1.32, p. 47 (Gerard - edition taken from the entry in the 1918-1923 printed catalogue of the printed books in Edinburgh University Library), p. 38 (Fuller - edition taken from the entry in the 1918-1923 printed catalogue of the printed books in Edinburgh University Library), p. 90 (Petau *De Doctrina* - edition mentioned in source), p. 119 (Petau *Theologicorum Dogmatum* - edition taken from the entry in the 1918-1923 printed catalogue of the printed books in Edinburgh University Library; see also item 1183 in the catalogue of Nairn's library), p. 95 (Basil I - edition taken from the entry in the 1918-1923 printed catalogue of the printed books in Edinburgh

Footnotes to Chapter Three continued

- University Library), p. 86 (Castell). Da.1.33., p. 17 (Spigelius - edition taken from the entry in the 1918-1923 printed catalogue of the printed books in Edinburgh University Library). Da.1.32., p. 94 (Marsham - edition mentioned in source).
96. EUL Da.1.32., p. 50 (Widdrington). Da.1.33., p. 2 (Sacrobosco/Burgersdijck - edition taken from the entry in the 1918-1923 printed catalogue of the printed books in Edinburgh University Library). Da.1.32., p. 99 (Barclay). Da.1.33., p. 38 (Lindsay).
97. *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, pp. 283-99. As the editor points out in his introduction, p. xlviii, Lauder was not always scrupulous about stating whether he was using sterling or Scottish values. With his book purchases he always used English pence; with shillings he sometimes used Scots but more usually English.
98. NLS MS 14650, fols 150-68; MS 14636, fols 58-66.
99. NLS MS 976, fols 119-20.
100. NLS MS 976, fol. 123.
101. EUL Da.1.33., p. 71.
102. NLS MS 14650, fol. 154.
103. NLS MS 14650, fol. 153.
104. NLS MS 14650, fols 160, 165-66, 168.
105. NLS MS 14648, fol. 114.
106. J. Grant, 'Archibald Hislop', p. 39.
107. EUL Da.1.33., p. 31; NLS MS 14650, fol. 154.
108. M. Foot, 'Some Bookbinders Price Lists of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', e.g. p. 130.
109. EUL Da.1.32., pp. 86, 94; R. Clavell, *The General Catalogue of Books Printed in England Since ... 1666 to the end of Trinity Term 1674* (London, 1675), pp. 107-08.
110. *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, p. 287; R. Clavell, *The General Catalogue ... 1666 to ... 1674*, p. 48 (Howells), p. 39 (*Journal*), p. 54 (Leigh), p. 27 (Archer), p. 51 (*Mercury*), p. 40 (Aglionby).

Footnotes to Chapter Three continued

111. *The Diary and General Expenditure Book of William Cunningham of Craigends*, edited by J. Dodds, Scottish History Society, 2 (Edinburgh, 1887), pp. 108, 112.
112. *The Diary ... of William Cunningham*, pp. 33, 35-37, 39, 43, 61-63, 66, 69, 75, 87, 95, 101, 103, 106, 111.

Footnotes to Chapter Four

1. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life*, chapter one (pp. 1-30); D. Anderson, *The Bible in Seventeenth-Century Scottish Life and Literature* (London, 1936).
2. Examples of relevant works by Stevenson are: *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates: Scottish-Irish Relations in the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (London, 1977); *The Scottish Revolution, 1637-1644: the Triumph of the Covenanters* (Newton Abbot, 1973). He has also edited *The Government of Scotland Under the Covenanters, 1637-1651* (Edinburgh, 1984). I. B. Cowan's works include *The Scottish Covenanters, 1660-1688* (London, 1976).
3. For details of the examination of aspirants to the ministry during this period see W. R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery*, pp. 93-96; and also G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', pp. 456-57.
4. R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, II, 177.
5. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life*, chapter four (pp. 77-99), also pp. 72-76, 128-131. Library information is used on pp. 75-76, 92 and 98.
6. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life*, pp. 75-76.
7. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 96; 'Autobiography', p. 467.
8. W. E. K. Rankin, 'A Seventeenth-Century Manse Library', p. 52.
9. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life*, pp. 135-36; D. Butler, *The Life and Letters of Robert Leighton*, pp. 72-73, 78-96, 277-78; E. A. Knox, *Robert Leighton*, p. 79; G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 13; G. Willis, 'The Leighton Library', p. 151.
10. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 96; 'Autobiography', p. 468.
11. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life*, p. 136.
12. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', pp. 463-64.
13. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life*, p. 136; E. A. Knox, *Robert Leighton*, pp. 153-55; G. Willis, 'The Leighton Library', p. 151.
14. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life*, p. 137.
15. R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, I, 238.

Footnotes to Chapter Four continued

16. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', p. 462; *History of My Own Time*, I, 385.
17. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', pp. 468, 472-73.
18. D. Robertson, 'A Packet of Books for Scotland', *The Bibliothek*, 6 (2) (1971), 53.
19. Edinburgh University Library, *Benefactors of the Library in Five Centuries: an Exhibition ... Summer 1963* (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 18 (item 65); G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life*, pp. 220-23.
20. This volume has no Nairn marks prior to the post-1753 shelfmark.
21. G. Willis, 'The Leighton Library', p. 151.
22. Quoted in D. Butler, *The Life and Letters of Robert Leighton*, p. 270.
23. e.g. 257, 304, 331, 424A, 1134, 1170-73, 1504-07, 1675/2-3.
24. All items in 1669 have been counted as historical items.
25. e.g. 3, 46A, 126, 153, 259, 342, 384, 390, 508, 524, 586, 588, 807-10, 834, 843-44, 981, 986, 1067, 1069-72, 1078, 1091, 1153, 1180, 1223, 1238, 1253, 1375, 1444, 1453, 1561, 1572, 1578, 1604, 1620-24.
26. *The Life of Mr Robert Blair*, p. 404.
27. J. Kirkwood, *A Copy of a Letter anent a Project, for Erecting a Library, in every Presbytery ... in the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1702), p. 3.
28. C. P. Finlayson and S. M. Simpson, 'The History of the Library, 1580-1710', p. 52.
29. J. Kirkwood, *A Copy of a Letter anent a Project, for Erecting a Library, in every Presbytery ... in the Highlands*, p. 3.
30. *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie*, p. lv; R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, II, 188 also mentions this incident.
31. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, I, 66.
32. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', p. 455.
33. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 10.
34. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', p. 462.

Footnotes to Chapter Four continued

35. 11, 271, 289, 295, 400, 427, 569, 649, 896, 1143, 1257, 1316, 1348-49, 1399.
36. Two further pamphlet volumes, 1669-70, contain a wealth of material on Scottish and English events of the 1640s and 1650s. Ecclesiastical and secular events in this period were inextricably mixed and these two pamphlets have all been regarded here as part of the historical section of Nairn's library.
37. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', pp. 470, 461.
38. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', p. 478.
39. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', p. 457.
40. G. Willis, 'The Leighton Library', p. 150. Godfray Davidson in his *Catalogue of Selected Volumes from the Leighton Library, Dunblane, Scotland* (Dunblane 1960), pp. 28-30, has a convenient list of Leighton's Hebraic holdings. Davidson's attribution of all these works to Leighton's ownership is probably correct, even if in other sections of the *Catalogue* the attributions to Leighton's collection are on occasion suspect.
41. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', pp. 9-10.
42. J. Durkan, 'The Early History of Glasgow University Library: 1475-1710', *The Bibliothek*, 8 (1977), p. 111.
43. *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie*, p. 211.
44. Ireland was of course predominantly Catholic but the presses were in the hands of the Protestants. The Holy Roman Empire covered many Catholic areas but as Nairn's items mostly came from the Protestant parts it seems appropriate to treat items from the Empire along with more uniformly Protestant countries.

Footnotes to Chapter Five

1. The Latin text is printed in A. Dalzel's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, II, 376-99; an English translation is printed in D. Butler, *The Life and Letters of Robert Leighton*, pp. 63-66.
2. D. Butler, *Life and Letters*, p. 64. The Analytics, Topics and Sophistics are all part of the *Organon*.
3. Dr Christine Shepherd has pointed out in her thesis, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities', p. 113, that prior to 1654 Nairn's regent, Thomas Crawford, incorporated metaphysics into his lectures on Aristotle's logic. I have relied heavily on Dr Shepherd's work for details of the content of the Edinburgh University curriculum when Nairn was a student.
4. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', p. 461.
5. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', p. 461.
6. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 91.
7. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, III, 31-32.
8. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, II, 388.
9. Entry for Henry Scougal in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
10. G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, I, 333; T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet*, p. 134.
11. For statistical purposes these five works have been counted in the section of this thesis dealing with political theory.
12. Entry for Martin Clifford in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
13. J. Grant, 'Archibald Hislop', p. 49.
14. NLS MS 14407, fol. 52v.
15. Other examples are 241, 313, 349, 359, 566, 593, 755, 1111, 1418, 1441, 1607.
16. See C. J. Larner, *Enemies of God: the Witch-hunt in Scotland* (London, 1981).
17. SRO CH 2/122/4, p. 341; C. J. Larner, C. H. Lee and H. V. McLachlan, *A Sourcebook for Scottish Witchcraft* (Glasgow, 1977), case 353.

Footnotes to Chapter Five continued

18. SRO CH 2/252/3, pp. 113 et seqq. Penman was dismissed for adultery in 1675, and accused once again of witchcraft in 1678, this time being imprisoned for a period: see C. J. Larner *Enemies of God*, p. 169.
19. SRO CH 2/365/3, p. 80.
20. Item 311, a theological work by Casaubon, is also in part about witchcraft.
21. For a detailed study of More's *Conjectura Cabbalistica* see L. Mulligan, '"Reason", "Right Reason", and "Revelation" in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England', in *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, edited by B. Vickers (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 386, 388-90.
22. F. A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London, 1964), pp. 398-403.
23. C. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science', pp. 265-66.
24. C. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science', pp. 211-65.
25. C. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science', pp. 266-73.
26. *The Memoirs of Sir Robert Sibbald*, p. 54.
27. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', p. 464. 27a. *Ibid.*, p. 465. 27b. *Ibid.*, p. 469.
28. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 89.
29. The one item not recorded in the text is 1460 by Egidius Strauch. Several historical works have sections on scientific chronology, notably 112, 278, 968, and 1183.
30. C. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science', pp. 267, 296-98. The two most important donations of mathematical and astronomical books to a Scottish university library at this time, both bequests to St Leonard's College St Andrews, were by Mungo Murray (1670) and Sir John Wedderburn (1679). Murray had lived in England for many years, at one stage being Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, and Sir John Wedderburn, an eminent physician, had spent his whole career in England before retiring to his native country.
31. See W. R. McDonald, 'Scottish Seventeenth-Century Almanacs', *The Bibliothek*, 4 (1966), pp. 257-322.

Footnotes to Chapter Five continued

32. The Faculty of Advocates acquired 305 volumes for its library from Sutherland in 1707. A listing was done at this time (Faculty Register 39) and this has been studied by W. A. Kelly, who kindly let me consult his unpublished catalogue of the collection based on the 1707 list.
33. For a recent survey of thought in this area see Brian Vickers's introduction to *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, especially pp. 1-6.
34. *Bibliotheca Balfouriana, sive, Catalogus Librorum ... Andreae Balfourii* ... (Edinburgh, 1695).
35. *The Works of George Herbert*, edited with a commentary by F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1941), pp. 260-61.
36. A. Bell, *Sydney Smith* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 16, 102, 105-07, 200.
37. *The Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan, 1659-1660*, p. 3; *The Life of Mr. Robert Blair*, p. 17.
38. *The Works of George Herbert*, p. 261.
39. The two items not mentioned are 982 and 1037A, both late sixteenth-century German items.
40. G. Willis, 'The Leighton Library', p. 149.
41. W. E. K. Rankin, 'A Seventeenth-Century Manse Library', p. 61.
42. *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie*, p. 404.

Footnotes to Chapter Six

1. G. Chalmers, *The Life of Thomas Ruddiman* (London, 1794), pp. 88-90; W. Steven, *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1849), pp. 57-58. Chalmers says the *Ordo* was drawn up in 1640, Steven in 1644.
2. In addition to the material noted there Nairn also owned a dictionary giving Hebrew and Greek roots for Latin words (621) and a dictionary giving the equivalents of Latin words in various languages, including Hebrew (273).
3. Item 273 is problematical in that the 1678 catalogue gives 'Dictionarium Trilingue, Fol. *Lugd.* 1617', while the item in Edinburgh University Library with the post-1753 shelfmark for a Nairn copy, and no earlier Nairn marks, is a Lyons, 1647 octolingual edition in folio. I think that 'trilingue' must be a printer's error for 'octolingue', which appears on the half-title, and that 1617 is a misreading of MDCXLVII. I have not been able to trace any trilingual edition printed in Lyons in 1617.
4. There is a study of a recent edition of Homer by Méric Casaubon in the collection, and also a comparative study of Homer and Virgil (552A, 479). The latter is more likely to have been acquired for its Virgilian content than its Homeric, and the Casaubon is bound behind another item. 552A has no Nairn markings prior to the post-1753 shelfmark.
5. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 9.
6. The other items are: a selection of Latin and Greek *Sententiae* edited by Henri Estienne (1398); the extant works of Hyginus, along with some other items (768); and works by late and minor, although Christian, poets and selections of Martial bound in one volume (873). Nairn also owned a later edition of Martial (990) and of Hyginus's fables (828). Only the first item, by Juvenecus, in 873 is listed in the 1678 catalogue and the volume has no Nairn markings prior to the Edinburgh University Library post-1753 shelfmark used for Nairn copies, although it is most likely the volume was Nairn's.
7. This volume has no Nairn markings prior to the Edinburgh University Library post-1753 shelfmark used for Nairn copies and therefore the Aelian, not mentioned in the 1678 catalogue, may not have been owned by Nairn, although it is most likely that the volume was Nairn's.
8. Volume two of Donald Wing's *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England ... 1641-1700*, second edition (New York, 1982) conflates the two Kirkwoods.

Footnotes to Chapter Six continued

9. As mentioned in note three above, item 273 is problematical, but I consider the copy in Edinburgh University Library to have been Nairn's. Item 519B is not included in the 1678 catalogue and is bound up in a volume which has no Nairn markings prior to the Edinburgh University Library post-1753 shelfmark used for Nairn copies. It therefore may not have been Nairn's, although it is most likely that the volume was Nairn's.
10. These are items 479, 628, 713, 1093, 1287, 1535, 1550 and 1590. The last five, by their imprint dates, could have been used by Nairn as a student; the first three must have been acquired later.
11. Other items not mentioned in the text representing Renaissance and post-Renaissance Latin literary material are 136, 172, 314, 360, 377, 554, 1085, 1283-84, 1347A, 1457, 1515.
12. I am indebted to Mrs Kirsteen Moir for help with Ninian Paterson's poems.
13. C. P. Finlayson and S. M. Simpson, 'The History of the Library, 1580-1710', p. 46.
14. H. M. Meikle, *Some Aspects of Later Seventeenth Century Scotland*, pp. 20-23; J. C. Dibdin, *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (Edinburgh, 1888), pp. 26-28; J. Grant, 'Archibald Hislop', p. 38; SRO CS 96/3, fifth and fourteenth invoices.
15. J. Grant, 'Archibald Hislop', p. 45.
16. *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, pp. 285-88, 293-94; J. C. Dibdin, *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*, p. 26.
17. *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, pp. 287, 290, 298.
18. J. Grant, 'Archibald Hislop', pp. 50-51.
19. M. A. Bald, 'Vernacular Books Imported into Scotland', p. 258.
20. Quoted in D. Butler, *The Life and Letters of Robert Leighton*, pp. 160-61.
21. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', pp. 460-61.
22. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', p. 470.

Footnotes to Chapter Six continued

23. Item 1590B is not included in the 1678 catalogue, and the volume containing it has no Nairn markings prior to the Edinburgh University Library post-1753 shelfmark used for Nairn copies. It is therefore possible that that particular Vossius title may not have been owned by Nairn, although it is most likely that the volume was Nairn's.
24. As explained in footnotes three and nine above, items 273 and 519B have no Nairn markings prior to the Edinburgh University Library post-1753 shelfmark used for Nairn copies.
25. 519A is not recorded in the 1678 catalogue and bears no Nairn markings prior to the Edinburgh University Library post-1753 shelfmark used for Nairn copies.
26. G. Chalmers, *The Life of Thomas Ruddiman*, p. 91.
27. There are also Italian proverbs, dialogues and a play by Nathaniel Dhuëz in that author's *Le Guidon de la langue italienne* (519), designed to help readers learn the language. The *Le Vrai Guidon de la langue françoise*, by the same author, bound up behind it in the Edinburgh University Library copy with the post-1753 shelfmark used for Nairn copies, contains French dialogues and proverbs designed to help learn that language.
28. Nairn's copy is lost and it is not possible to tell exactly what *nouvelle* he possessed.
29. Quoted in A. Bower, *The History of the University of Edinburgh*, I, 220.
30. *The Life of Mr Robert Blair*, p. 16.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven

1. G. Chalmers, *Life of Thomas Ruddiman*, p. 90.
2. D. Butler, *Life and Letters of Robert Leighton*, p. 65.
3. J. M. Buckroyd, 'Mercurius Caledonius and its Immediate Successors, 1661', *Scottish Historical Review*, 54 (1975), 11-21; W. J. Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press* (Stirling, 1908), I, 165-88.
4. *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-1639*, p. 46; *The Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan*, pp. 118, 204, 219; *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, I, 10, 117, 224-25; II, 81; III, 101, 311, 324.
5. *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie*, for example pp. 217, 224-25, 270, 308; *The Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan*, for example pp. 92, 102-04, 141-3, 160, 162, 168, 187-88, 221; *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, pp. 283-99.
6. G. Willis in his 'The Leighton Library', p. 150, notes Leighton's extensive historical and geographical holdings.
7. G. Burnet, 'Autobiography', 462.
8. G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, I, 524.
9. G. Burnet, 'Original Memoirs', p. 35.
10. Quoted by T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet*, p. 47.
11. Further items not noted in the text are: 351, 362, 405, 473, 648A, 876, 1019, 1162B, 1166, 1259, 1549, 1554, 1675/4.
12. C. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum', pp. 166-68.
13. C. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum', pp. 168-77.
14. C. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum', pp. 203-05.
15. The eleven items are: 202, 248, 256, 412, 414, 600, 811, 1000, 1021, 1600, 1637. Nairn also owned a separate edition of the *Institutes* ([Geneva] 1578) (870).
16. *The Works of George Herbert*, p. 259.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven continued

17. Further items not mentioned in the text are: 12, 696, 706, 712, 836, 954, 1129, 1179, 1235, 1338.
18. W. Forbes Gray, *Catalogue of the Library of John Gray*, p. 95 (bound in item 964).
19. The other six items are 315, 614, 620, 1190, 1520, 1577.

Footnotes to Conclusion

1. H. Trevor-Roper, 'The Scottish Enlightenment', p. 1652.
2. H. Trevor-Roper, 'The Scottish Enlightenment', p. 1651.
3. *Innerpeffray Library and Chapel: a Historical Sketch* ([Innerpeffray], reprinted 1955), p. 7.
4. J. B. Craven, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bibliothek of Kirkwall*, p. viii.
5. Figures are from A. L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Scottish Church, 1688-1843: the Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 9. The Scottish Episcopalians after 1688 have recently been studied by Dr T. N. Clarke: 'The Scottish Episcopalians, 1688-1720' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1987). I am grateful to Dr Clarke for allowing me to read his thesis.
6. Munro would have left Edinburgh in any case under the old régime as he was on the point of becoming Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.
7. See the entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
8. W. Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 the the Present* (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 105.
9. *An Historical Relation of the Late General Assembly, Held at Edinburgh ... 1690, in a Letter From a Person in Edinburgh to His Friend in London* (London, 1691), pp. 47-48. G. D. Henderson quotes this passage in *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*, p. 202.
10. There is a succinct account of Kirkwood's activities in W. R. Aitken's *A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland to 1955* (Glasgow, 1971), pp. 6-13. The 1699 pamphlet is entitled *An Overture for Founding & Maintaining of Bibliotheks in Every Paroch Throughout this Kingdom, Humbly Offered to the Consideration of This Present Assembly*.
11. The full title of the 1702 pamphlet is *A Copy of a Letter Anent a Project, for Erecting a Library, in Every Presbytry, or at least County, in the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1702). For an account of subsequent happenings see Aitken, pp. 9-13.
12. For these activities of Kirkwood see G. P. Johnston, *Notices of a Collection of MSS Relating to the Circulation of Irish Bibles of 1685 and 1690 in the Highlands and the Association of the Rev. James Kirkwood Therewith* (Edinburgh, 1904).

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MS K113 ('Catalogus librorum in Bibliotheca Collegii Regii Universitatis Aberdonensis ... 1717', pages headed 'Libri Episcopi', containing books bequeathed by Bishop Patrick Scougal of Aberdeen)

b) Bodleian Library, Oxford.

MS 14260, fols 99-104 (Sermon by 'J.N.', James Nairn?)

c) British Library, London.

Add MS 23117, fol. 43 (Lauderdale Papers - letter of the Revd James Nairn to Lord Lauderdale, 3 March 1662)

Add MS 23135, fol. 172 (Lauderdale Papers - letter of the Dean and Chapter of Dunblane to Charles II, 24 May 1672)

d) Edinburgh City Archives.

Moses's Bundles, nos. 51 (2248), 59 (2657), 61 (2738), and 66 (2973) (Material relating to the stipend of the Revd James Nairn at Wemyss, 1665-1675)

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e) Edinburgh University Library.

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f) General Register Office, Edinburgh.

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g) National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

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h) St Andrews University Library.

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